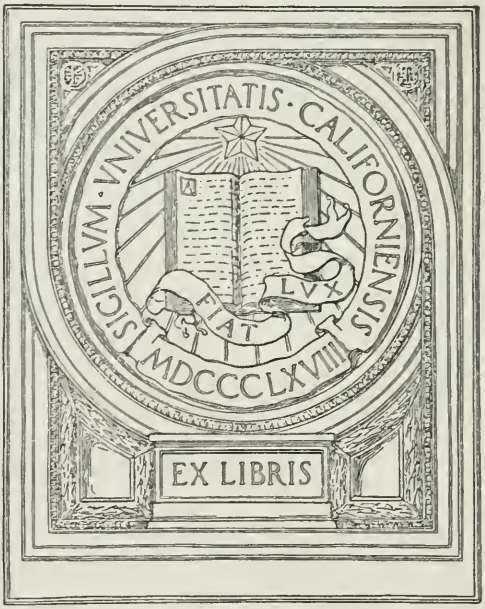
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



GIFT OF
G.C.DeGarmo

added ed
DS615
.T63

TROPICAL HOLLAND

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY, NEW YORK
THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON
THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI
THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY, SHANGHAI

OLD-FASHIONED EUROPEAN HOME AT SURABAYA, JAVA

TROPICAL HOLLAND

AN ESSAY ON THE BIRTH, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN AN ORIENTAL POSSESSION

By H. A. VAN COENEN TORCHIANA

Member of the American Bar, Corresponding Member of the Institute of Intermediary International Law of the Hague, Consul General of the Netherlands for the Pacific Coast States, U.S.A.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

COPYRIGHT 1921 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 1921

COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

TO THE MEMORY OF HIS MOTHER AND FATHER WHO LIVED HAPPILY FOR MANY YEARS IN INSULINDE, THIS ESSAY IS DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR

DS
615
T63
1921

Gift of G. C. De Garmo 11-21-41

387846

GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT IS HEREBY MADE

TO

JONKHEER, DR. A. C. D. DE GRAEFF,
RETIRED VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES,
MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE NETHERLANDS TO JAPAN

AND

C. M. PLEYTE, ESQ.
RETIRED MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE BATAVIAN PETROLEUM COMPANY

FOR FREELY GRANTING AID OUT OF THEIR GREAT STOREHOUSES OF ORIENTAL KNOWLEDGE

TO

MISS ELEANOR FRANCES BUMP
A GRADUATE OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE, WHO ACCOMPANIED THE WRITER AND PARTY DURING THEIR TRAVELS IN THE ORIENT

FOR HER VALUABLE ASSISTANCE IN GATHERING AND CLASSIFYING IMPORTANT MATERIAL FOR THIS ESSAY

FOREWORD

THE spread of European influence and European interest throughout the world following the important discoveries by the Spanish under Columbus and by the Portuguese around the Cape of Good Hope has been one of the most vital facts in the history of the world since that time. The vast extension of commerce, great increase in manufacturing and commercial wealth of European nations, the settlement of various parts of the world by European immigrants, the control in one form or another of non-European races by European authority, all these have made a new world.

Among the earliest in the field of commercial and colonial expansion was the Dutch Republic. The settlements which they effected, both in the West Indies, as they were called, and in the East Indies were permanent in character. To be sure, the New Netherlands became later a British colony. The Dutch East Indies remained under the Republic and have been extremely successful in many ways. The Dutch policy, primarily commercial, has nevertheless been humane and far-reaching. The change in methods of local administration within the last few decades has kept pace with the progress of the world and is eminently worthy of the successors of William the Silent. Mr. Torchiana's discussion of the matter is worthy of serious attention and will be extremely useful to students of colonization.

HARRY PRATT JUDSON

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROLOGUE xiii

CHAPTER PAGE

I. THE UNBIASED VIEWPOINT 3

II. A FEW GEOGRAPHICAL, GEOLOGICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL FACTS 15

III. CLIMATE, FLORA, AND FAUNA 23

IV. A FEW ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS, AND THE POPULATION OF TODAY 31

V. THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES 41
The Prehistoric Period; the Hindu Period; the Early European Navigators

VI. THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES, *Continued* . . 61
Insulinde during the Sixteenth Century

VII. THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES, *Concluded* . . 75
The Netherlands East Indian Company; Insulinde in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

VIII. THE EQUITABLE TITLE OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY TO HER COLONIES 131

IX. INSULINDE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY . . 147

X. INSULINDE OF TODAY 163

XI. INSULINDE OF TODAY, *Concluded* 245

XII. THE FUTURE OF INSULINDE 281

INDEX 309

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE

Old-Fashioned European Home at Surabaya, Java *Frontispiece* iii

Fish Ponds of Tjipanas, Java 16

Sulphur Fumes of Kawah Kamodjan 18

The Flora of Java 26

A Javanese Noblewoman 32

Thousand Temples near Djokjakarta, Java . . 44

In the Preanger Regencies 44

View of the Crater Bromo 68

Agricultural Java 94

Old Batavia 106

A Netherlands Official's Visit to the Sultan of Djokjakarta, Java, July, 1919 170

Princes of the House of Surakarta in Native Costume 172

Workshop of the State Railroad at Bandong, Java 186

A Cock-Fight Witnessed by Natives 204

Former Mode of Transportation 212

Terraced Rice Fields, Java 234

Cinchona (Quinine) Plantation 234

Javanese Women Picking Coffee 256

Tapping Rubber Trees in Sumatra 272

A Native Belle (Island of Bali) 296

Map of Java 306

Map of Malay Archipelago 306

PROLOGUE

"BOY, PAGE JAVA"

OME time during the late war, one of the big liners of the Netherlands Navigation Company, plying between Amsterdam and Java, was hailed in the Red Sea by a British auxiliary cruiser. The captain in command of the liner was on the bridge. This gallant Dutch mariner joins Falstaffian wit with Falstaffian dimensions.

The young British officer who hailed the liner from the bridge of the temporary war vessel, had evidently been drawn from civil life, and his geographical knowledge was in inverse ratio to his patriotic impulses, which had impelled him to dedicate his future and his life to his country.

The first question which he shouted was:

"Whence and where to?"

The answer from the bridge of the Dutch liner was:

"To Amsterdam from Java."

Right back from the cruiser came the query:

"Where in hell is Java?"

Now the jolly Dutch captain had been many times in the United States. He had observed the actions of chief clerks in hotel offices, when guests had to be found and could not be located by telephone in their private rooms. He had seen the clerk call a boy, and give him instructions to page the guest in the lobby, dining room, or in happier times, in the wine room.

Imitating the actions of the clerk, he extended his hand as if to tap a bell on the office desk, then with a twinkle in his eye, he said to the young navigation officer standing beside him on the bridge, "Boy, page Java."

Then grasping the megaphone he gave this reply:

"Java is a tight little island, near the equator, immediately adjoining the British possessions of the Federated Malay States, and having a few more million inhabitants than Merrie Old England. Its splendid isolation is broken by the visit of five large liners fortnightly, and . . . ."—but by this time a roar of laughter from the bridge of the British man-of-war, showed conclusively that after all our British cousins do appreciate a good joke, and still recognize a Sir John Falstaff when he looms up large enough on the horizon.

CHAPTER I. THE UNBIASED VIEW-POINT

Difficulties to be overcome—History from a philosophical standpoint—Chauvinism—Misdirected patriotism—Precepts of Roosevelt—Criticism by Charles Dickens—Different psychologies—The new psychology, its origin and development

THE UNBIASED VIEWPOINT

RAVELOGUES are almost invariably unsatisfactory. The reasons for this are not difficult to find. No matter how intelligent the traveler, no matter how well-trained the observer, in the vast majority of cases the author of the travelogue lacks thorough historical knowledge of the country which he has visited—knowledge which is so necessary for the purpose of furnishing a suitable intellectual background. It is next to impossible to obtain a correct conception of social, industrial, and political conditions of any country unless one understands and appreciates the great formative forces which have caused the conditions to evolve in the past and to crystallize in the present. The immediate result is that travelogues are generally received with approbation, if not with applause, by those who listen to them or read them, and to whom they are primarily addressed, while they meet with wonder and often with derision from those citizens and inhabitants of the country described who have the rare opportunity of acquainting themselves with these immature mental products. What foreigner, for instance, would understand the present complicated conditions existing in the United States, unless he had a correct idea of the history of the Colonies and some appreciation of the deeds of Washington and Hamilton? An intelligent view on his part presupposes understanding of the absorbing

struggle between the Federalists and the States Rights-ers, a knowledge of the difference between the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian doctrines of democracy, and a comprehension of the titanic struggle involved in the winning of the West.

Who will understand today the different strata in the American Commonwealth unless he has been inspired at some time by the march westward of this virile civilization and has before his mind a photographic view of the successive waves of the trappers, the hunters, the cow-men, the sheep-men, the homesteaders, the grain farmers, the traders, and in their wake the American primary schools, high schools, colleges, and universities?

There is another fundamental difficulty in describing a foreign country to a home audience. The philosophic viewpoint is too frequently neglected in the writing of history. For centuries historians have been unable to free themselves from the fetters in which their minds have been held through so-called patriotism, better called chauvinism. One might amost believe that the word patriotism, used in this narrow sense, is derived from the word patron, for the first historians were almost invariably patronized by some ruler or great lord for whom they wrote, or to whom they dedicated their works. The spirit of fawning which in olden times, as a result of these conditions, too frequently appeared among the brotherhood of historians—an almost cringing respect shown to powerful individuals—seems to have been

transferred in some degree even to our own age and is now sometimes directed to the less noble passions of the masses. For the most part, however, there has been in our time an advance toward better things, scholars now visualize historical science as based on broader lines, and history is written not from narrow and local motives but from a liberal international and philosophical standpoint. More and more steadily the conviction has grown that it is a feeble kind of patriotism which needs as a stimulant hatred and contempt for other countries. Men are realizing more clearly that international hatreds, from which most wars spring, are often implanted in the hearts of children by reading so-called abridged histories during their school years—that is during the period when they are most susceptible to the acquirement of lasting impressions.

The doctrine proclaimed by such Americans as Theodore Roosevelt, that the precepts which guide a decent man in his private life should be the lode-star of his public life, may well be extended to the thesis that we should judge in as decent, as charitable, and as friendly a manner the nations that are our sisters in the great family of nations as we should judge the families of our own neighbors in private life.

Thus it frequently happens that the traveler who, burdened with an inheritance of biased information, visits foreign countries, is too apt to cling to the theory that "everything at home is better," and that that which is strange "looks queer." When he writes

down his impressions he is still laboring under atavistic handicaps, and, while he may possibly add to the gaiety of the people whose country he describes, he certainly adds to the ignorance of those who are presumed to be the beneficiaries of his mental efforts. That even brilliant persons, either through pique or prejudice, or through lack of broadness of view outside of their own special sphere, are likely to fall into these errors is easily proved by the case of Charles Dickens. His virulent, and in many instances grotesque, criticism of the American people, now more than half a century old, is still quoted with approbation and satisfaction by many would-be critics in the Old World.

The third almost insurmountable difficulty is the difference so often existing between the psychologies of the people whom the author describes and the people for whom he writes. For a great many years it was generally accepted that the civilized part of the human race was divided into two great mental families, to wit, those whose psychological point of view is Western, and those whose mental processes are Oriental. Western psychology, which is influenced to a great extent by Christian and Hebrew doctrines, was supposed to be that of the white man. It was believed to have had its birth in the Near East, to have been cultivated in Egypt, Persia, and Greece, to have been later extended to Rome, and finally, after ages of evolution, to have been handed down to Western civilization in general.

The Oriental psychology, from a religious standpoint, was largely dominated by Buddhism and Mohammedanism. It, too, was believed to have had its origin in the Near East. Later it seems to have been largely cultivated and expounded in India and in China after the introduction of Buddhism, especially in the third century B.C., and then, partly through the agency of Buddhism and partly that of Islam, to have spread eastward in other Oriental countries.[1]

It is often said that the white man's psychology pervaded and intensified practical and positive civilization, while that of the Orientals gave birth to a literary or philosophical civilization. Those two currents of thought—the one flowing westward, the other eastward—are now presumed to face each other across the broad expanse of the Pacific Ocean. Their outposts on the islands of Australasia and Malaysia are already in close and often hostile contact.

Only during the last few decades has it slowly dawned on the world that this theory is not entirely correct. The civilizations of the earth have given birth to a third and distinct psychology, which may be called, after its chief representatives, the American psychology. It is not, however, the people of the United States alone who follow this trend of thought. It is prevalent in the Dominion of Canada, in the

[1] Buddhism first appeared in China in 217 B.C. A great stream of Hindu priests began to flow toward China about 65 A.D. and continued uninterrupted and in ever greater volume until the fourth century A.D., when the prohibition was lifted which prevented the Chinese from taking orders as priests.

Dominion of New Zealand, in the Commonwealth of Australia, and in the Federated South African States. While some of its elements have their foundations firmly imbedded in English Common Law, in English literature, and in the British ideas of personal freedom, still it has been affected by many other influences, of which the Dutch is by no means the least. This psychology has grown and developed to such an extent that its reputed mother would have difficulty in recognizing her lusty offspring. It is the psychology of a group of nations which have adopted the modern democratic form of government, which are not cramped by narrow boundaries and overflowing populations, which do not harbor suspicions and hatreds of political neighbors—hatreds born from past wrongs and fears of the future. It is the psychology of people whose thoughts are free from overhanging shadows of expected wars, who do not feel that each move is watched by enemies standing at their very doors and armed to the teeth.

Such a psychology could be acquired and evolve only in countries where, theoretically and actually, equal opportunities are offered to all citizens, regardless of birth or differences of creed, and where the people are able to develop on large expanses of land—in countries of which the more cultured and urbane parts were continuously refreshed and strengthened by the virile thoughts of sons sent forth into the forests and mountains, into the mines and plains, even into the wilderness, but ultimately returning, when of

mature age, to the more civilized places whence they came. They colored and strengthened, though they sometimes roughened, the mental attitude of the older parts of the nation.

This great schism in the Western mental processes first became apparent at the time of the American Revolution. American thought, like the chief representative of European thought, viz., France, had dropped the shackles of dogmatism and welcomed "the new light." But American orators and writers were not bitter and sarcastic like Rousseau, Diderot, and Voltaire. On the contrary, leaders like Benjamin Franklin and John Adams firmly believed in the goodness of man, in reason, in humanity in general, and they clung to religious ideals.

It was especially during the last Great War that many Americans in the army ascertained for the first time, and with a shock, how little mental understanding there existed between them and Europeans, even between them and their British cousins. Though wearing the same clothing, using the same furniture, admiring the same arts, etc., still they intuitively felt that there was a subtle but very material difference. The existence of this difference was of course well known for years to thoughtful observers.

There was a different story to tell when the American doughboys met the Canadians, the Australians, or the New Zealanders in the "overseas" forces. With these, as well as with the South Africans, they were soon *en rapport.* They were kindred in spirit as

well as kindred in language. With Europeans, however, it was different. By intuition they knew that the latter were people who very often did not understand them, even if they spoke the same language. They realized a difference in viewpoint in almost everything that the normal man holds dear: home, family life, the "folks," public life, woman's position, education, and what not. This difference is especially notable as to the subjective minds of both great subdivisions in the family of white men. After some reasoning and convincing argument their objective minds may be brought into harmony, but their subjective minds contain—of course mostly unconsciously to the objective mind—many reservations.

Deep in the consciousness of the American people are found those new and strong traits which were developed in the individual character of the pioneer through his contact with the untamed forces of nature. These traits are easily traceable to the influence which the wilderness always exerts on the minds of civilized men, the men who by force of circumstances were compelled to develop both character and muscle and who became the subduers of unsubdued nature. This influence of the forces of nature has exercised its formative power in the consciousness of the various nations who live under similar conditions, and who spring from white stock, no matter in what parts of the globe fortune has cast their life-lines. It does not take much vision to predict that this thinking along similar lines is bound in years to come to draw these

different peoples together politically. For the sameness of their likes will find its counterpart in the sameness of their dislikes and prejudices—the two powerful elements directing the national policies of modern states.

It must not be assumed that the claim is here made that the Canadians and the Americans, for instance, are sympathetic on every subject. How could they be? Neither are the Spaniards and the Danes, or the Italians and the Swedes exactly in accord. In details of thought and feeling and opinion they will be and must be different, yes, materially different. It is only along general lines that kinship of thought can be expected.

While the vigorous strain of the practical mental turn of mind of the older Western or white man's civilization is likewise prominent in this new American psychology, and while the exact sciences are exercising their powerful influence on the thought, feelings, and beliefs of the people, still the philosophy, the literature, and often the idealistic viewpoints contained so frequently in the Oriental civilizations have found a hospitable reception in the new nation's mental processes. That the religious life of the people of Europe and of the "new white man's country" is very much the same possibly explains the so-called "contradictions" in thought and character which European observers are so fond of enlarging upon.

Since it is obvious that difference in race, environment, and historical growth made the Netherlands

psychology of necessity different from the American, it must follow that there always will be considerable difficulty in explaining Netherlands conditions to American readers, and vice versa. But such a difficulty is intensified when the conditions of a multitude of Oriental peoples, all endowed with an Oriental mentality, and living under the control and direction of a Western power whose psychology is materially different from the subject-race, are described to readers whose thoughts and feelings are radically different from either of them.

The first chapters following, being merely descriptive of the physical conditions of the East India Islands, and written chiefly for the purpose of establishing the necessary background, do not offer much difficulty along these lines. But in writing the chapters bearing on economic and political conditions this difficulty has been kept constantly in mind, and an honest effort has been made to reduce it as much as possible. Fortunately, the student of the economic and political conditions existing in the Netherlands East Indian Colonies is not confined to personal observation, or to the reading of the popular travelogues, often written for personal satisfaction and always to please the readers. These islands have been visited for decades by travelers and observers of great experience and penetration of mind, and to the opinions of these scientists reference is made many times in the following pages.

CHAPTER II. A FEW GEOGRAPHICAL, GEOLOGICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL FACTS

Meaning of Insulinde—Part of Malay Archipelago—Extent of great Island Empire—Longitude and latitude—Groups of islands—Location on equator—Size in comparison with United States—Total area—Population—Area of Sumatra—Area of Borneo—Area of Celebes—Area of New Guinea—Views of scientists as to connection with continents—Volcanic belt—Earthquakes—The Klut—The Krakatau—Mountains—Forests—Soil—Minerals

A FEW GEOGRAPHICAL, GEOLOGICAL, *and* TOPOGRAPHICAL FACTS

THE Netherlands East Indies are commonly known as the Dutch East Indies, and are often indicated by the graceful and musical name of Insulinde, meaning "Island India." Insulinde forms the major part of the Malay Archipelago; in fact it forms the whole of the Malay Archipelago with the exception of the Philippine Islands under the American flag, the northern part of Borneo and the eastern part of New Guinea under the British flag, and the eastern part of the island of Timor under the Portuguese flag.

Insulinde constitutes a great island empire, situated between the extreme southeastern part of the mainland of Asia, variously known as the Malay Peninsula, Malacca, or the Federated Malay States, and the great island of New Guinea, which more properly belongs to Australasia. It extends from longitude East 95° to 141°, and from latitude North 6° to 11°, and may therefore be called an island chain between the southeast point of Asia and the northwest part of Australia. The islands are divided into four large groups, viz.:

1. The Greater Sunda Islands, comprising Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and Celebes.

2. The Lesser Sunda Islands, comprising Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Selor Islands, Wetar, Flores, and Timor.

3. The Moluccas, by which is meant all the smaller islands to the east of Celebes, and which were formerly known as the "Spice Islands."

4. New Guinea, being that part of New Guinea which belongs to the Netherlands.

These islands stretch across the tropical waters of the Indian Ocean, the southern part of the Chinese Sea, the Sea of Celebes, and the Pacific Ocean. They are traversed by the equator, which runs through the center of Borneo and Sumatra. The distances are enormous, for from the extreme east to the extreme west is as far as from New York to San Francisco. This island empire is about as large as one-fourth of the United States. It is known to the mother country as "Oost-Indisch Archipel," to the English as the "Malay Archipelago," and to the French as "l'Archipel Asiatique." Its total area is 587,000 square miles, or about forty-six times the area of the Netherlands, while its population, according to the census of 1917, was over 47,000,000, or about seven times the population of the Netherlands. Of its total population 34,000,000 live in Java. There are about 140,000 white people scattered over the whole archipelago, of whom slightly more than 110,000 are on the island of Java. This includes Hollanders and white men of all other nationalities.

Java.—To give a correct idea of the extent of these different islands, it will be sufficient to state that Java and the adjoining island of Madura (from an administrative standpoint they are one) have an area

FISH PONDS OF TJIPANAS, JAVA

of about 50,000 square miles, or about as large as the state of New York.

Sumatra.—Sumatra, with the small islands immediately surrounding it, has an area of about 162,000 square miles, or about equal to the state of California, or to Great Britain.

Borneo.—The whole of Borneo has an area of 212,737 square miles, of which area five-sevenths is under the Dutch flag. This part is as large as the Republic of France.

Celebes.—Celebes and the immediately adjoining islands have an area of 71,410 square miles, and are therefore considerably larger than New Zealand.

New Guinea.—That part of New Guinea which is under Dutch dominion has about 152,000 square miles, and is about the size of the Empire of Japan proper.

According to the opinion of a scientific school of which A. R. Wallace was the pioneer (he still stands unchallenged as its ablest member), Sumatra, Java, and Borneo once formed the southeast part of the continent of Asia, while all the islands to the east, beyond Java and Borneo, possibly with the exception of Celebes, formed part of the former Australasia or Pacific continents.

One of the chief volcanic belts of the world passes through the archipelago, and scores of active volcanoes and hundreds of extinct ones may be found throughout the whole length of Sumatra and Java, thence through the islands of Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa, running north toward the Philippines.

As a matter of course, in a region occupied by such a vast line of volcanoes, earthquakes are of frequent occurrence. The history of Java records several important temblors, one of which took place only a year ago. That great eruption of the Klut transformed into steam part of the lake which had formed in its crater, and caused the rest of it violently to overflow its borders. A large stream of hot and cold liquid mud (called *lahar* by the natives) devastated the surrounding country.

The most noted eruption in recent years was that of Krakatau, in August, 1883. In this enormous outburst, the greater part of the island on which the volcano was situated was destroyed. Flames spread over the adjacent coasts, clouds of vapor rose to an altitude five times as high as that of the summit of Mount Blanc. It has been claimed that the noise was heard for thousands of miles, and the ashes fell over all the southern part of Sumatra and western Java. As a curiosity, it may be stated that the ashes practically traveled around the world. They rose to an enormous altitude, where the light particles were caught and carried by currents of the atmosphere to remote places. During the period of the eruption a peculiar rosy glow in the skies was seen over a large part of the Pacific Coast. A tidal wave seventy to eighty feet high swept over the nearby coasts of Java and Sumatra, carrying death and devastation in its wake.

Each island has a central mountain region, rather narrow hill lands and coastal plains, and valleys

SULPHUR FUMES OF KAWAH KAMODJAN, NEAR GARUT, JAVA

sloping toward the sea. Java has few lakes, and no large rivers in the sense of the large American or European rivers. The hill soil is generally of volcanic origin, which soon disintegrates under the warm rays of a tropical sun, alternating with the torrential tropical rains, and thus becomes a soil rich in plant food.

The mountain-sides from the bottom of the valleys to an average elevation of five thousand feet are generally covered by a series of prosperous plantations; from that line to the summit they are covered by virgin forests. Here and there one finds a great prairie half-way up to the summit, and rolling lands bordered by trees and shrubs, reminding one of English hunting-parks.

The poorer lower hills in Java are covered by *djati* (teak) forests, the richer by rice fields or *sawahs* of the natives. All the lower valleys are of alluvial soil, and here, besides the rice crops of the natives, great sugar and tobacco plantations are found. The lower valleys also produce corn, cassava, hatuloes, peanuts, cocoanut palms, kapok trees, indigo, vegetables, and fruits.

While the other large islands have, to a large extent, the same soil formation as Java, in general, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and Guinea have larger areas of less fertile soil, consisting of granite, slate, and so-called primary rock. These islands have, on the other hand, some remarkably rich regions, for instance around Medan, on the island of Sumatra. In the last-named islands, as well as in Borneo, are also found large

swamps covered by primeval forests and mangrove vegetation, which remind one strongly of the swamps of Florida.

The islands have no great natural harbor comparable to the Bay of San Francisco with its famous Golden Gate, but there are a number of small natural harbors with suitable roadsteads.

In Celebes and adjoining islands there were recently discovered important deposits of iron ore containing nickel. In Java, Borneo, and Sumatra there are oil-fields of importance. Tin is found in great quantities on the islands of Banka, Singkep, and Billiton, while considerable gold is mined in Sumatra. Coal is found on the island of Sumatra (Ombilin and Palembang), and on Borneo (Pulu Laut).

CHAPTER III. CLIMATE, FLORA, AND FAUNA

Climate: Comparison with other tropical countries near equator—Monsoons—Seasons—Living conditions for white men—Higher altitudes—"Dry season"

Flora: Virgin forests—Casuarina trees—Mountain berries—Varieties of palms—Orchids—*Alang-alang*—Wild flowers—Wild fruits—Domestic fruits

Fauna: Two groups, Asiatic origin and Australian origin—Wild animals—Orang-outang—Tiger—Ape—Celebes most remarkable in fauna—Domestic animals

CLIMATE, FLORA, AND FAUNA

THE climate in Insulinde is typically tropical, there being only about three-quarters of an hour's difference between the longest and the shortest day. The climate, however, shows one marked difference from that of tropical Africa or other continents in or near the equator, for the influence of the sea breezes moderates the heat during the day and prevents a too-fast cooling off at night.

There are two long seasons in these islands, regulated by alternating monsoons, or trade winds, and two very short seasons, lasting a few weeks each and covering the period of change between these monsoons. These two intermediate periods are often marked by thunder storms and considerable wind. The periods of the west monsoon and the east monsoon are not the same over the whole archipelago. To that part which lies south of the equator the west monsoon usually brings rain, while the east monsoon brings the dry season, and vice versa for that part which lies north of the equator. In Java the least rainfall takes place in the season between the first of May and the last of August, while the greatest precipitation takes place from the first of November to the first of January. It must be remembered, however, that these are general conditions, for locally they are considerably affected by the direction of the mountain chains and especially by altitude.

The temperature along the low coast is rather oppressive for Europeans, and at times exceedingly warm. The heat, however, even in these places is no worse than in Washington, New York, or Chicago during the hot spells of summer. In fact it is felt far less because houses, offices, clothing, and living conditions are arranged to meet this high temperature, and because no white man or woman is subjected to excessive physical endeavors, household servants and other help being obtainable at reasonable prices.

While people in the more northern climate have a respite from summer heat during the winter time, such respite is not denied to the denizens of the tropics, for, whenever financial and other conditions permit, they can readily escape the heat by going to the higher altitudes, where the climate is delightful, and where one needs a woolen blanket at night the year round. As the backbone of each of these islands is a mountain range, and the islands are mostly narrow, these higher altitudes can be speedily reached from almost every direction.

What is termed the "dry season" is not an absolutely rainless season in Insulinde. It differs greatly from the dry season in California, Nevada, or Arizona. Only in some of the smaller islands, in the extreme southeastern part of the archipelago, do we find really dry seasons in the sense that we know them in the west and southwestern part of the United States. Sometimes, and exceptionally, the periods between May and August have proved extremely dry

in Java, with no rainfall except in the high mountains. Europeans who observe good habits can live for years in the archipelago and enjoy excellent health. It is nevertheless advisable that at stated periods, say every five or six years, they take a vacation and enjoy a cooler climate in a low altitude. Affairs are almost invariably arranged to meet this requirement.

Flora.—The flora of Insulinde is the usual tropical flora. Most of the land that has not been touched by the hand of man is covered with virgin forests. In the higher altitudes one finds vegetation which somewhat resembles that of the western lower slopes of the Sierra Nevadas. Generally speaking, the forests of Insulinde, no matter where situated, offer a far larger variety of trees than one finds in the temperate zones. The trees are more mixed, large groups of the same varieties being rarely found.

In eastern Java one finds mountain slopes covered by the Australian Casuarina, which reminds one strongly of a forest of scrub pines. When traveling from the mountain resort Tosari to the Crater Bromo one travels almost continuously through these Casuarina forests.

In the mountains of Java one finds a great many of the wood berries (*Vaccinium*), and the Javanese "edelweiss." Bamboos cover whole mountain slopes. Palms are found everywhere. Large numbers of cocoanut palms are found all over the islands, while climbing plants encircle a great many trunks of trees in the forests. Some of them twist themselves around

the supporting trunks and partially disappear in them. Others, by means of aerial roots, adhere even to the very smooth trunks. Others have tendrils or hooks. A great profusion of orchids, ferns, and mosses is found, and there are enormous quantities of parasites. Wherever forests have been cleared, and for some reason or other the ground is not tilled, tough high grass known as *alang-alang* covers the ground. One thing which impresses the traveler is the fact that while Insulinde has a bewildering variety of wild flowers, wherever the land is cultivated one sees far fewer flowers than in America, Japan, or Europe.

Of the wild fruits Wallace writes:

> Many persons in Europe are under the impression that fruits of delicious flavor abound in the tropical forests, and they will no doubt be surprised to learn that the truly wild fruits of this grand and luxuriant archipelago, the vegetation of which will vie with that of any part of the world, are in almost every island inferior in abundance and quality to those of Britain. Wild strawberries and raspberries are found in some places, but they are such poor, tasteless things as to be hardly worth eating, and there is nothing to compare with our blackberries and other berries. All of the fine tropical fruits are as much cultivated productions as our apples, peaches, and plums, and their wild prototypes, when found, are generally either tasteless or uneatable.

At the present time a great diversity of fruits is grown in Insulinde, some of which were introduced by the Hindus and the Chinese, but the greater majority by the white man. The principal fruits now used are the kalapa (cocoanut) and the pisang (banana), while

THE FLORA OF JAVA

the mangosteen, durian, mango, the melon, the djeroek (both as fresh fruit and preserves), the pompolomoes, the ananas (pineapple), the tamarind, and many others are popular.

Fauna.—The fauna in Insulinde, like the flora, is divided into two main groups, that is, the fauna of Asiatic origin and the fauna of Australian origin. The fauna of the Sunda Islands is the same as that of the Peninsula of Malacca, while the fauna and flora of New Guinea and surrounding islands are of Australian character. The islands lying between these two great groups, such as Celebes, the Moluccas, etc., seem to form a meeting-ground, and later investigations have shown that the sharp division line drawn by Wallace between Celebes and Borneo, and between Bali and Lombok, which in his opinion was the definite and absolute division line, both ethnologically and botanically speaking, was too closely drawn.

The orang-outang is common both in Sumatra and Borneo, but is not found in Java, while, on the other hand, the tiger is found in Sumatra and Java, but not in Borneo. A number of apes are found in all the larger Sunda Islands. Both in Borneo and Sumatra are found the elephant and tapir. Strange to say, the former has its relatives in Africa, the latter in South America, and both animals are unknown in Java. While in Java is found one species of the rhinoceros, a quite different species is found in Borneo and Sumatra. Peacocks in a wild state are found all over the islands from British India to Java. In the latter

island parrots are very scarce, while they abound in the eastern part of the archipelago, being of Australian origin.

The island of Celebes is presumed to have the most remarkable fauna in Insulinde, as many of its species do not seem to have any near relatives in any of the surrounding islands, but seem to have distant relatives in far-away Europe and Africa. Besides, it is here that the fauna and flora of the two great classes—Asiatic and Australian—meet and intermingle.

On the other hand the fauna of New Guinea is very much the same as that of Australia, though its flora is quite different, due to the pronounced difference in the two climates. The wild buffalo, while found in Malacca, is lacking in Insulinde, but the carabao, or tame buffalo, whose forefathers belong in India, is seen all over the islands. On the other hand, the banting, or wild cow, is found in small and large droves in Java, Sumatra, and Borneo, often terrorizing the population. Today one finds among the domestic animals most of those seen in any tropical climate.

CHAPTER IV. A FEW ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS, *and the* POPULATION OF TODAY

Wallace's division of Malay peoples into two groups: Malays and Papuans—Origin—Migration—Aborigines—Division line—Mixed races—Characteristics of each race—Division line same as that of fauna and flora—Papuan's inability to survive contact with white man—Malays increase in populations—Three tribes—Malays proper—Javanese—Burges—Races on other islands—Varying descriptions by different authors—Appearance of Malays—Courtesy—Trace of cruelty—Divisions as to evolution—Agricultural class most advanced—Semi-nomads—Hunters and fishermen lowest—Seventy-five per cent of people of Java in agricultural pursuits—Chinese—Total number foreign Orientals—Arabs—Protection of foreign Orientals—Some Orientals on equal footing with white man

A FEW ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS *and the* POPULATION OF TODAY

WALLACE classifies the whole of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago into two main groups, viz., the Malays and the Papuans, and states that these two have no traceable affinity to each other.

The Malays are of Asiatic origin, while the Papuans are of Pacific Island or Polynesian origin. The former inhabit the western part of the archipelago, while the latter are found in the eastern islands. Neither of these peoples appears to be aboriginal.[1] On the contrary each of them must have come by some migratory wave, either from the east or the west, driving the aborigines to the more remote regions of the mountains of far-away islands. Approximately speaking, the division line of these two great nationalities is a line commencing at the extreme northern part of the island of Celebes, thence to the island of Gilolo, thence west to the island of Ceram, curving around the west end of Flores. As might be expected, in several places and in the "border" islands especially, the races are mixed.

[1] The well-known Dutch anthropologist, Professor Dubois, discovered in the pliocene formation of the Residency of Rembang, Java, the skull of a creature, *pithecanthropus erectus*, which is presumed to be the link between the animal and the first prehistoric man. The discovery has attracted widespread attention in the scientific world. A reproduction may be found in the Museum of Natural History in New York City.

The Malay race inhabiting the islands west of this line resembles the East Asian population, while the Papuan race inhabiting the islands east of this line are, like the Polynesian race, spread everywhere over the Pacific. These races are entirely distinct from each other, not only in physique, but also in mentality. The former are lighter in color, being light brown in skin, small of stature, straight-haired, and smooth-muscled, reserved, bashful, cold, and undemonstrative, and of far more advanced civilization. This advanced civilization is of course mostly due to their continuous contact with the Hindus, Chinese, and Arabs, and later with the white man. This race has mixed in many instances with the aborigines, and the variation of climatic and living conditions existing in the different islands has, in the course of centuries, produced many different types of Malays. The Papuans are darker of skin, and more frizzled of hair, taller of stature, bearded, and hairy-bodied, more energetic, demonstrative, and laughter-loving like the negro. These facts led Professor Hawley to claim that the Papuans are allied to the negroes of Africa. Incidentally it may be stated that the ethnological division line is also, to a very great extent, the division line between the two different flora and fauna, modified by the fact that men are more migratory than plants or animals.

A marked distinction between the two races is their respective ability to survive contact with the white man. The Polynesians generally seemed to be

A JAVANESE NOBLEWOMAN

doomed to a comparatively early extinction, and their subdivision, the Papuans, will hardly be able to escape this if colonization should be turned to Guinea, for this warlike, energetic people will not submit to servitude of any kind, or, for that matter, to modern self-discipline in any form. The Malay race, on the other hand, appears not only to thrive under the white man's régime, but to increase rapidly in numbers.

The Malays in the Netherlands East Indies may be classified under several nations and tribes, some civilized, some semi-civilized, and some still semi-savage. The three divisions in the first class are:

First, the Malays proper who are mostly Mohammedans, inhabiting the Federated Malay States (Malacca), and the coast regions of Sumatra and Borneo, and who are found in the coast settlements of almost all the other islands. As stated elsewhere, they all speak the Malay language and use the Arabic characters in their written language.

Second, the Javanese, including the Sundanese and Madurese. They are likewise Mohammedans in religion. They use the Kawi languages, and the Javanese and Madurese have a native system of characters for their writing. Besides Java they have colonies in Sumatra and Borneo, and inhabit Madura, Bali, and part of Lombok. In the two last-named islands they are Brahmanistic. They have advanced quite considerably in civilization.

Third, the Burges, Buginese, and Makassars, of Celebes and Sumbawa. They speak the Burges and

Makassar languages, and have two native systems of characters for writing.

The Molucca-Malays may be called semi-civilized; they are Mohammedans, and speak many dialects. In addition there are, among the savage or half-savage Malays, the Battaks and various wild tribes in Sumatra, the Dayaks in Borneo, and several minor tribes. It is the Malays who, numerically, as well as intellectually, form the most important part of the population of this island empire. Some of the smaller islands are inhabited by aboriginal tribes, several of which are "Alfoers," sometimes translated to mean "mountain savages." These tribes inhabit numerous islands near Celebes and Ceram, and are almost always heathens. In Guinea there are several tribes called "Arfaks," of which the Karons obtained an undesirable reputation for cannibalism.

As all these peoples differ greatly in language (there are almost sixty languages and dialects spoken in the islands) and also in the stage of their evolution, it is but natural that different writers have given radically different descriptions of their character, habits, etc., this depending on the particular part of the archipelago where they made their observations.

The Malay, generally speaking, either male or female, is not handsome from a European standpoint. He is generally short of stature, the face flat and broad. Like many other Oriental peoples, the Malays when young often attain a very pleasing appearance, almost bordering on the attractive. Lax morals,

feasting, riotous living at some times, and at other times privation and excessive hard work, soon spoil their appearance.

In character they are passive, unless aroused to great anger. The men almost always show reserve and indifference. They are slow in speech and appear slow in thought, a fact which is many times misleading. When one is traveling over the islands one is continually struck by their courtesy and politeness toward one another and toward strangers. One can say truly that every Javanese in his kampong (native's quarter) in the city is a gentleman in manners. As far as these chiefs and nobles are concerned, their courtesy appears to be flawless and makes one sometimes ashamed of his more brusque Western manners. There is of course a trace of cruelty in their character, but this is true of most Asiatics.

The native population is subdivided into a great many groups, all differing in stage of evolution, in language, in political status, and especially in the composition of their race, the latter depending on their purity or cross-breeding. Those races which have devoted their energies principally to agricultural pursuits—the Menangkabaus and Palembangs of Sumatra (all of mixed Hindu descent), the Balmese in Bali, and especially the Javanese, the Sundanese, and the Madurese in Java—are most advanced. Those who live a semi-nomadic life come next in the scale of civilization, while those who live entirely as hunters and fishermen are the lowest. In Java about 75 per

cent of the population is directly or indirectly connected with agricultural pursuits; in New Guinea less than 1 per cent of the Papuans are farmers.

Among the foreigners the Chinese take an important part. The Chinese have been in these lands, in considerable numbers, for centuries. Today they are found in almost all coast towns as merchants. In one part of Western Borneo especially these industrious "Sons of Heaven" hold a very important place in the agricultural development of the region. In the great commercial centers, such as Surabaya, Samarang, Batavia, Deli, Palembang, etc., many wealthy Chinese residents are found, who on account of their public spirit constitute a distinctly good influence in the community. In the islands of Banka and Billiton a great number of Chinese coolies are engaged in the tin mines, while they are found in similar capacities in the gold and coal mines and on the tobacco estates of Sumatra. All told there are about 700,000 foreign Orientals in Insulinde, the majority of whom are Chinese.

Next in importance come the Arabs, who are shopkeepers and coast navigators. A great many are usurers, and the fact that they come from Arabia, a country sacred to Mohammedans, seems to give them special prestige and advantage. The Chinese and Arabs are recognized by the Netherlands East Indian government as standing apart from the other Orientals. There are certain officials known as Chinese majors, captains, and lieutenants, and Arab captains

and lieutenants, who are appointed by the governor general to assist in the maintenance of order among their own people and to give advice to the local authorities whenever requested.

The Japanese have been placed on the same footing as the Europeans. Together there are between 139,000 and 140,000 of such residents scattered all over Insulinde, among whom the Hollanders, of course, preponderate. They are mostly officials, officers of the army and navy, bankers, merchants, scientists, teachers, estate managers, and technical, commercial, and estate employees.

387846

CHAPTER V. THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD—THE HINDU PERIOD—THE EARLY EUROPEAN NAVIGATORS

Java, original name of whole archipelago—Marco Polo's use of name—Early history imperfectly known—Kavi literature—Hindu legends—Visit of Hindu merchants—Introduction of Buddhist religion—Temples left by Hindus—Chinese annals—Route of early traders—Spice trade—History of Island of Java—Ambassadors to China 425 B.C.—State of Mataram—Boro-Budur Temple built—Disappearance of Mataram at beginning of the tenth century—Kingdom of Madjapahit, 1294–1478—Decline of Buddhist influence—Establishment of Mohammedan religion—State of Giri—Visits of Chinese merchants—Entire lack of compact nation—Early history of Celebes—Less affected by Buddhism and Mohammedanism than Java—First description by Portuguese—Tribes—Early history of Borneo—Inhabitants—Sultanate of Broenei—Export of gold dust, etc.—Early history of Sumatra—On route of spice traders—Stopping-places for Hindus and Chinese—Never political entity—Sumatra channel of Buddhist religion, 500–750 A.D.—Channel of Islam religion, 1250–1400 A.D.—Chinese annals—Visits of Arabs—Marco Polo—Saracen merchants—State of Atjeh—Ejection of Portuguese, 1521—Early history of Moluccas—Spice Islands—Tribes—d'Albuquerque, 1511—Wars with Sultans—De Brito—Drake, 1579—Hollanders, 1598—Struggle for control of spice trade—Debt of world to Portuguese navigators and colonizers—Early history of small Sunda Islands—Names—Inhabitants—Hindu influence

THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

AVA is now the name of the most important island in this archipelago, but many believe that Djawa, Java, or Jawa, was originally applied to the whole Malay Archipelago, and that Marco Polo used it in that sense.

All authorities agree that the early history of Java or the Netherlands East Indies in general is only imperfectly known. Historians have endeavored to piece together, in one intelligible, consecutive narrative, the early native ballads and chronicles, but they invariably find that these are far from reliable, giving rise to conflict in dates. There is a body of writings known as the "Kavi" or "Kawi" literature (Basa Kavi),[1] that is the language of poetry, though some of it is prose. Even from this, however, it is quite impossible to construct a history, for the earlier as well as the later *babads* (native chronicles) are chronologically contradictory and unreliable. Some authors have endeavored to construct a history from what can be inferred from the geological conditions and from the oral and written traditions. For a great many years these traditions, which may be compared with European ballads or folksongs, had the attention

[1] See Raffles, *History of Java*, translation of *Brâtâ-Jocdâ;* also Kern's *Kawi Studies*, 1871.

of Dutch authors and publicists. Here and there we find other disconnected writings which give us something of the local color.

In 1877 Cohen Stuart published the modern Javanese version of the *Brata Yuda* (*Conflict of the Bharatas*), a famous epic. Professor Kern gave special attention to the *Ardjuna Wiwaha* (marriage festival of Ardjuna), which he believes originated in the eleventh century. Very numerous are the *wayungs* or puppet-shadow-plays, which are usually based on Hindu legends.[1] In order to understand them one must be well versed in Hindu history and folklore.

The writer had the privilege of witnessing a very elaborate *wayung* play, given in the month of August, 1919, at the home of the Captain of the Chinese in Djokjakarta. A large screen was placed in the center of the room, on which were projected the shadows of grotesque figures, through the medium of puppets cut from carabao leather and delicately perforated. The audience sat on the opposite side of the screen from the operator. The play had gone on for more than a day, and the audience seemed keenly to relish the fables presented.

A few days afterward, through the courtesy of the Resident of Surakarta, the sultan of the minor Sultanate (Pangeran Adipati Ario Mankoe Negoro), a highly educated gentleman who had passed his examination as an officer in the Dutch army, and who held the

[1] See H. C. Humme, *Abiasa, een Javaansche tooneelstuk* (a Javanese play), The Hague, 1878.

rank of Dutch major and spoke Dutch fluently, showed the writer his magnificent collection of these *wayung* puppets. He also staged a Hindu performance, where dancers in the most gorgeous costumes rendered a Hindu epic in motion. Every Javanese noble has an elaborate set of these puppets, and also court dancers.

The present *wayung* plays of Hindu origin had their forerunners in the still-older native shadow plays, which were generally presented in the forest by the "Sjamaan." These plays were connected with a qualified ancestor-worship, a distant relative of the Shinto cult of Japan. The spirits of ancestors were supposed to be represented by the shadows on the screen, and their great and noble deeds were the topics of the plays. In Sanskrit literature the "Beast Fables" were of great importance, and in the Hindu-Javanese literature we find identical fables.[1]

THE HINDU PERIOD

The island now called Java was known to the Western world at the beginning of the Christian Era. Ptolemaeus, the Greek geographer, called it Jabidore (150 A.D.). It was likewise called Jawadwipa, meaning "Barley Island," the early visitors confusing the ripe rice with ripe barley. That these islands, especially Java and Sumatra, were visited during this early period, by merchants from Hindustan, who remained for some time, is now well established. In fact there are

[1] See W. Palmer van den Broek, *Javaansche Vertellingen*, Javanese Folklore, 1878.

even today small settlements in Sumatra, near Palembang for instance, where the advanced state of civilization is directly traceable to the influence of the descendants of these early visitors.

Probably the Hindus brought with them their Buddhist religion, as all the old native records prove that this religion flourished in the islands from the first centuries of our era. It fostered and developed a civilization which is still evidenced by temples, statues, and tombs of great architectural merit. These temples are found in eastern and middle Java, a very few being intact and a great many more being in course of restoration by the government. The famous Boro-Budur, and the noted Tjandi Sewoe (Thousand Temples), situated near Djokjakarta, in the very center of Java, are best known to travelers. Eventually all these temples will be restored.

The construction of most of the temples throws a curious sidelight on the Hindu civilization which gave them birth. For, while they are sometimes very beautiful in outline, the stones are piled loosely on one another, without cement or other binding material, thus making them an easy prey to the continuous earthquakes with which the ancient Hindus must have been well acquainted.

The early history of Java from Javanese-Hindu sources is difficult, if not impossible, of reconstruction, but the Chinese annals throw some light upon it.[1] The old Chinese annals confirm the fact that Hindus

[1] See Van der Lith, *Merveilles de l'Inde.*

THOUSAND TEMPLES NEAR DJOKJAKARTA, JAVA

IN THE PREANGER REGENCIES

from Ceylon, Kalinga, and Malacca visited the islands in the first years of our era,[1] bringing with them their religion and statecraft. They soon appeared in such numbers that they were able to dominate the aborigines. The Chinese annals also indicate with reasonable correctness the route which the early traders followed for the purpose of bringing spices first to Rome, and later to the northern Italian cities. This route followed Ambon, Banda, the north coast of Bali and Lombok, the north coast of Java, east coast of Sumatra (between that island and Banka), and the west coast of Malacca. Here the route merged into the general trade route from China, going its way via Legor to Sanggora or Patani. Up to this point coast navigation was the mode of transportation, the navigators presumably remaining as much as possible within the shelter of the coast. But from there a caravan route went its way overland to Toensoen (later Kalah), and hence to Alexandria, whence the goods were shipped to Byzantium (Constantinople) and Rome.

It is generally believed that transportation along the eastern part of this great trade route was first in the hands of the Hindus from the mainland of Asia, and that later it came mostly into the hands of the Chinese until 600 A.D., when the Hindu states in Java had grown powerful enough to control the spice trade themselves. It must have been a very ancient business, this spice trade, for cloves which grow only

[1] *Ibid.*

in the Moluccas were known in Rome in the first few centuries after Christ.[1]

During the last decades very extensive investigations have been made of inscriptions found on stones in temples and elsewhere. Slowly but surely the early history of the islands will become clear.

Java.—Most of the inscriptions bear out the Chinese records, and make the visualization of Java's early history fairly possible. It seems to be well established that as early as 425 A.D. the king of West Java (Taroema), sent an ambassador to the Chinese emperor. Prior to this (415 A.D.) the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hieü had visited Java, remaining for five months. West Java was then, as now, inhabited by the Sundanese peoples.

The *Annals of the Fang Dynasty* (618–906 A.D.) very often mention a kingdom generally called "Kaling." It is significant that even so early as this Kaling is sometimes referred to as Djava. There seems to have been an important commerce between the two countries, and ambassadors were often sent back and forth.

In Middle Java, where the Javanese proper lived, the state of Mataram (now the Residencies of Kedu, Djokjakarta, and Surakarta) came into prominence in the ninth and tenth centuries. It was here that the great Buddhist temples were built, of which the Boro-Budur before mentioned is the most famous. It

[1] See Dr. Brandes' *Verhandelingen, Bataafsch genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen*, Vol. XLIX, 1896.

is presumed that the construction was started in 850 and was finished several decades later. This monument is not a real temple, in the sense that one can enter it, but rather a sacred hill, covered with masonry. It is supposed to be the depository of part of the sacred ashes of Buddha. It is one of the foremost Buddhist monuments today existing in the world. It attracts travelers from all over the globe. One cannot say that it has four sides, but rather sixteen sides, like faces. The covering stones are of volcanic origin, and on the sides are carved scenes from the life of the first Buddha. One versed in the history of the Buddhist religion can follow these carved forms from stone to stone, and from terrace to terrace, reading one consecutive story of great historical value.

At the time that Java was threatened by the Mohammedans, the devoted Hindus covered this monument with soil. It was really discovered and uncovered during the English occupation. The first excavaton was made under the direction of Governor Raffles. Since that time Netherlands geologists have reinforced the base, and have otherwise taken measures to preserve this famous Buddhist monument. There is no doubt that for ages to come this monument will remain one of the wonders of the ancient Buddhist civilization in Java. The writer visited this monument, spending the night at the little resting-place maintained by the government at the foot of the temple. A climb to the different terraces by moonlight gives to the eye a picture never to be forgotten,

and one which can be rivaled only by a visit to the same place at sunrise, when the warm tropical sun of Java lights up the eastern side of the terraces with successive and ever-increasing waves of soft radiance, revealing in its pristine beauty the ancient carving on the stones.

The state of Mataram seems to have disappeared in the beginning of the tenth century. It is very likely that eruptions of Merapi and Merbabu drove the greater part of the population away. There are no documents of any kind, so far discovered, which give the history of the state.

The history of East Java is likewise uncertain in many respects. The first well-known prince was Erlangga, who reigned for over thirty years in the beginning of the eleventh century. During the first part of the thirteenth century Ken Arak was the King of Toemapel or Singosari. His successor (1247) was King Anoesapati, murdered after less than a year's reign, who was succeeded by King Tohdjaja (1248). He, too, after a year's rule, was murdered, his successor being Rangawoeni, who managed to hold the power until 1268, having the distinction of being the first prince who died a natural death.

Rangawoeni's successor was King Kartanagara, the last of his house, who became unpopular with the Chinese emperor for maltreating the latter's ambassador. In the year 1292 the Chinese government sent an expedition to Java and an army was landed. Though this army was compelled to retreat, the political purpose was accomplished by other happen-

ings, and the expedition was considered successful, for the king to be punished had been murdered, and his state of Toemapel fell, to be succeeded for one year by the state of Daha.

At that time there arose the native Hindu state of Madjapahit, in Java, which became very prominent. Its first king, Kertaradjasa, was on the throne from 1294 to 1309. He died a natural death, and Djajanagaro succeeded him (1309–28). The latter was murdered. Several rulers followed, who continued to extend the power of this state, not only in Java, but also in Borneo, Bali, Banda, Timor, Flores, Sumatra (for instance Palembang), and even on the peninsula of Malacca. The last of these kings, Bra Widjaja V, died in 1478, and the power of Madjapahit, which had already been weakening for some time, came to an end.

After a few years the Hindu-Buddhist influence declined and the Mohammedan crescent rose to ascendancy.

In 1377 a native state called Giri sent ambassadors to China. This state afterward played quite an important rôle. Its sultan, after his conversion to the Islam religion, was known as the Priest-Prince, and was believed to possess miraculous and mystic powers. He therefore exercised a great influence on the susceptible and superstitious natives. The Chinese merchants also visited Pekalongan and Bantam (called Hiakang), and used them as shipping-places, but after the advent of Mohammedanism their influence waned.

It is quite impossible, save for a very general purpose, to speak of the early history of the "Netherlands East Indies," meaning these islands as a compact whole, as one might speak, for instance, of the early history of Great Britain, for there never was any question of a "national" life or unity of any kind, either ethnologically, politically, or linguistically speaking. The religious customs, the laws, and languages of each island were not only radically different, as they still are, but each island in itself quite frequently offered a bewildering variety of requirements for national existence. Furthermore, their peoples were, and are yet, in different stages of semi-civilization.

The foregoing pages give a very dim outline of the early history of the archipelago prior to the advent of the white man. Java having always been the most important island of this group, the description naturally concerned the history of that island more than any other, but a brief reference will be made to the history of the other islands. Javanese history offers a wealth of interesting details, and much is also to be learned from the individual history of Giri, Bantam, Cheribon, and other states, all of which flourished on this magnificent island during the Middle Ages. It would carry us, however, too far afield to pursue this inquiry any further.[1]

[1] In these pages no effort has been made to go into the details of the early history of the archipelago. Experts have made exhaustive investigations and new discoveries are constantly being announced. Those who desire to pursue the subject scientifically will find a mass

Celebes.—Prior to the advent of the Portuguese there is very little known of the early history of Celebes, except that this island was much less frequented by the Chinese and Hindus than Java, Sumatra, or the Moluccas. Both the Hindu and the Mohammedan influences were slow in reaching there, and its inhabitants were very much less affected by these religions than those of Java and Sumatra.

The first authentic descriptions are given to us by the Portuguese historians, Oduardo Barbosa, Diogo de Canto, and a few others. Even in the middle of the sixteenth century Islam had not yet penetrated Celebes, and it was not before the beginning of the seventeenth century that any of the chieftains accepted this religion.[1]

The maps published by the Dutch in the eighteenth century give a rather indifferent idea of the contour of Celebes, which has become so important in later years. As in the other islands, several tribes

---

of carefully prepared material. The work of Dr. Jan Veth, *Java, Geographisch, ethnologisch, historisch* (2d edition), is standard. Other scientists like Dr. N. J. K. Krom, Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, Mr. G. P. Rouffaer, Dr. J. S. Speyer, Professor H. Kern, Dr. J. Brandes, etc., have made wonderful contributions to the world's knowledge on this subject. New excavations and restorations are continually taking place, furnishing much new material as the work progresses. Recently W. Fruin Mees (1919) published a book, *Geschiedenis van Java* (*History of Java*), in which the results of many investigations have been presented in popular form.

[1] The Sultanate of Makassar seems to have been the most powerful among the native states. Afterward its successor, the state of Gowa, became known as a belligerent and troublesome factor in the Moluccas.

or nations form its population, of which the Buginese and the Makassars are the principal ones. Some of them were savage tribes; none of them more than half civilized.[1]

Borneo.—The early history of Borneo is shrouded in as much mystery as the early history of Celebes. The principal inhabitants are called Dayaks, as distinguished from the Malays who have settled along the coast and the larger rivers. It must not be thought, however, that these Dayaks were the aborigines of the island. They are presumed to have lived in Borneo before the other Malays, Chinese, and Hindu-Javanese took possession of some of the coast ranges and the hinterland. There are here also a great many different tribes, with various customs and languages.

Before the advent of the Portuguese, there was a Sultanate of Broenei, on the north coast of what is now British Borneo, and the whole island is supposed to have taken its name from that sultanate. There was also the state of Bandjermasin, which was sufficiently advanced in semi-civilization to be able to export gold dust, pepper, rattan, and forest products at the time of the first advent of the Hollanders in Borneo (1606), and this sultanate must have existed long prior to that date.

The same can be said of the sultanates of Gunung, Tabur, Kutei, and Sambaleung. Kutei, situated on Borneo's east coast, is populated by Malays,

[1] See Van der Lith, *Nederlandsch Oost Indie*, Vol. I, p. 425.

Buginese, and Dayaks. The Dayaks are again subdivided into a great many tribes, among which the Tring Dayaks were the most notorious, having had, until quite recently, a reputation for cannibalism. None of these sultanates seem to have exercised any material influence on the islands as a whole.

Sumatra.—The ancient history of Sumatra is happily not quite so shrouded in vague reports as that of Borneo or Celebes. The principal reason is probably because this island offered its long western coast as a trade route for the spice trade. It was natural that both the Hindu and the Chinese traders should have stopping-places here. These soon developed into small colonies along the shores.

All reports, native as well as foreign, agree that the island first was known as Walajoe, or Java Minor, later as Sjamatroe and Soemadra. It was never one political entity.

From a cultural standpoint Sumatra reached importance during two different periods. From about 500 to 750 it became the channel through which Buddhism spread eastward, especially to Java. Again, from 1250 to 1400, it did the same service for the Islam religion.

As is true of Java, the Chinese records are the oldest and most reliable records in regard to Sumatra. The northern Hindu (Chinese) monk, I-Tsing, visited this island repeatedly from 671 to 690 and finally completed a diary at Palembang, on the west coast of

Sumatra in the year 690. He found that Buddhism was prevalent in most of the islands of the archipelago.[1]

The annals of the Liang, Soei, and Tsang dynasties mention this island several times. From these annals it is known that Palembang, Djambi, and Indragiri were important Buddhist states in Sumatra, from 500 to 750 A.D., and from 1250 to 1300 there was a Hindu state called Menangkabau, which was under Javanese influence.

The Arabs seem to have appeared here as far back as the eighth century. In about 950 A.D. an Arab state arose on the northern end of Sumatra. When Marco Polo arrived in Sumatra from South China in 1292, he mentioned a large city (Palembang), and referred to the whole island as Java Minor. He claimed that there were eight kingdoms or states in Sumatra, and that one of them named Perlak was much frequented by the Saracenic merchants, who had converted the natives to the Law of Mohammed.

In 1413 the Chinese envoy Cheng Ho visited Sumatra or Java Minor. He was accompanied by Ma Hoean, who was an Arabic scholar and a Mohammedan. His memoirs disclose the fact that the Mohammedan religion had made great progress in the north. In fact, all of northern Sumatra had been converted to Islam, while Palembang remained Buddhist.

[1] See I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671–95), translated by J. Taka Kusu, Oxford, 1896.

Banos, who visited the island in 1525, published a list of the states existing in Sumatra. There were twenty-nine countries, at the head of which stood sultans or rajahs. Since the year 1500 the state of Atjeh had become important. This state, located on the extreme northern point of Sumatra, was erected on the ruins of Lamoeri. The Portuguese had built a fort at Pasei-Samunden in 1521, but this was stormed and taken by the forces of the Sultan of Atjeh in 1524. The Portuguese were thereby definitely ejected from Sumatra. The Sultan of Atjeh became the leader of the Mohammedans in the island, while the Javanese Mohammedans came under the leadership of the Priest-Prince of Giri mentioned before.

This prince seems to have been the suzerain of the rulers of Demak, Cheribon, Tegal, Kudus, Tuban, Dradjat, and Ampel (Surabaya), who were all Mohammedans.

The Moluccas.—By this name the islands situated between Celebes and New Guinea are generally indicated. For a long time they were the sole purveyors of cloves, nutmeg, and mace for the Western markets. Among the larger islands may be mentioned Halmahera, Obi, Sula, Ceram, Buru, and Ambon; among the smaller ones, Ternate, Tidore, and the Banda Islands. Concerning the early history of these islands little is known, except in a general way.

The original inhabitants were the Alfoers, who are still found on some of these islands. They have not mixed with other tribes. Some of the islands, on the

other hand, have an exceedingly mixed, even mongrel population.

Inasmuch as none of the tribes had an alphabet, and writing was unknown, and since the Arabic and Chinese writers indulged only in deductions and surmises, it is little wonder that we have no accurate information to speak of in regard to this history, before the advent of the white man.

Antonio d'Albreo was sent by d'Albuquerque to the Moluccas after the latter had subjugated Malacca in 1511. He found the Sultan of Ternate in the usual state of war with the Sultan of Tidore, and promptly took sides. Even at that time the Portuguese applied the principle in government so successfully followed by other colonizing powers, to-wit: "Divide that you may rule." In 1522 the islands were visited by Antonio de Brito, accompanied by a powerful squadron, and he became the first Portuguese governor of the Moluccas. Sir Francis Drake traveled there in 1579. He found several Portuguese trading-posts and fortresses, e.g., Fort San Joao, on the Island of Ternate.

In 1598 the first Dutch vessels arrived in the Moluccas and stopped at the island of Ternate, the Banda Islands, etc. From that date the supremacy of the Portuguese was disputed by the Dutch, who soon superseded the former as rulers of this archipelago. The word "rulers" must not be accepted in the strictest sense, for the different sultans remained in power, and for many years went on waging wars with one another whenever the gentle spirits of their fore-

fathers moved them to indulge in that agreeable pastime.

Already, in those benighted times, wealth was the sinew of war, and unfortunately for their subjects, these small tyrants were plentifully supplied with this sinew. Before the arrival of the Europeans the different sultans had amassed great fortunes through the spice trade, and even after the white man's advent this source of income continued to yield liberally. Sir Francis Drake's description of the splendor he found at the court of the Sultan of Ternate reads like a story of the *Arabian Nights*.[1] Ternate and Tidore were words for poets to conjure with.

The Western World owes an everlasting debt of gratitude to the early Portuguese navigators and merchants. One who travels today in the Far East, visiting Singapore, Java, or the Moluccas, continually finds descendants of these people, and also the monuments which they erected—churches, orphanages, etc. When looking at these landmarks it is easy to believe the statements of many early observers, that the Portuguese were particularly fitted to be the first rulers of these regions. Their general swarthy appearance was less different from that of the Oriental than the appearance of the blond men of Northern Europe; their manners were gentler, less brusque, and therefore less offensive to the sensitive pride of the native chiefs; and their sobriety endeared them

[1] See J. M. Brown, *The Dutch East Indies*, and Walcott, *Java and Her Neighbors* (1914), pp. 143–44.

to many. The Catholic religion which they brought with them, with its beautiful churches decorated in mosaic, etc., must have appealed far more to the natives than the colder and more austere doctrines and manifestations of the Reformed Dutch Church. Even a Protestant Hollander, if he visits the islands, cannot suppress a certain feeling of pity and regret that the Portuguese nation was deprived of almost all the fruits of her early enterprise, energies, and sacrifices made during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

The Small Sunda Islands.—The early history of the smaller Sunda Islands such as Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores, Wetar, and Timor, in so far as it is known, offers the same complexity of races and religious beliefs as the larger islands.

In Bali, the majority of the inhabitants are descendants from "people of Madjapahit," that is Javanese-Hindu from Central Java; others are indigenous, and are called Bilangas. The former are Brahmanistic, the latter Mohammedans. There are also many descendants of numerous other tribes in the coast regions. The people of Bali mixed a great deal with those of Java, and as a result their histories are interwoven. Here the old Hindu religion is found in its purest form; here caste is strictly observed.

In Lombok we find Balinese and Sasaks, the former worshiping Hindu-fashion, the latter being Mohammedans. They do not mingle, but are separated as if by an impenetrable divide.

CHAPTER VI. THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES, *Continued*

INSULINDE DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Political history merged with spice trade—Demand for Eastern luxuries—Cities of Southern Netherlands, distributing points—Trade routes—Importing in hands of Spanish and Portuguese—Northern cities of Holland competing—Struggle of Spain and Portugal—King Philip II—Rebellion—Republic of Seven Netherlands Provinces formed—Union of Spain and Portugal—Spanish ports not closed to Hollanders until 1587—Methods of warfare—Before advent of chauvinism—Present changed affairs—Outcry at closing of harbors—Attitude of Dutch seamen—Patriotism—Taxes for wars—National budget system—Dutch merchants seek best route to Indies—Reverend Plancius—Jan Huizen Linschoten—Three attempts of Hollanders to find northern route—Van Neck's expedition—"Far Away Companies" organized—Charter granted to East Indian Company, 1602

THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES, *Continued*

INSULINDE DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

ROM the year 1500 the history of the archipelago is more accurately recorded, and from that time the political history becomes closely merged with the history of the spice trade. The commercial situation as to the coveted Indian spices during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was rather complicated in so far as the Netherlands and Northern Europe were concerned. Those returning from the Crusades had long ago introduced the use of Eastern luxuries, such as perfumes, soaps, silks, spices, and what not, into the rugged and simple lives of the Northern peoples. Southern Europe had been acquainted with them for many centuries.

Especially the prosperous cities of the southern provinces of the Low Lands or Netherlands (the present kingdom of Belgium) were the great marts and distributing points for these spices and other Oriental luxuries. These Far Eastern products were brought by caravans and ships to Alexandria and Constantinople, and from these places they were carried by the merchants of Venice and Genoa, or Spain and Portugal, to the general market-places in the Netherlands, such as Antwerp, Ghent, or Bruges.

The merchants of these cities did not often engage in navigation enterprises themselves. They were satisfied to play the part of middlemen, and left the importing of spices to the Spanish and Portuguese shipowners, while the exporting was largely in the hands of the navigators from the Hanse cities, who distributed the purchased wares all over Northern Europe.

The merchants from the northern cities in the Netherlands, such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Enkhuizen, Middleburg, Vere, etc., most of which are situated in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, were more enterprising. They made a bid for, and soon obtained a part of, this very profitable ocean-carrying trade. Soon they had a very large number of small but effective trading-vessels and went directly to the Spanish and Portuguese harbors to buy at first-hand. Especially when the Hanse cities declined, this ocean-carrying trade fell to the Northern Netherlands, and it became a very flourishing enterprise.

The Spice Islands attracted the attention of the merchants of Spain, especially after Magellan had arrived at the Philippines on his trip around the world, made on behalf of the Spanish ruler. A bitter quarrel was engendered between the Spanish and Portuguese as to the Moluccas (then known as the Spice Islands), which was finally settled in 1529 by treaty and papal decree. In those times the Hollanders, who were fast becoming the most important ocean carriers in the

Western World, traded little with these islands, for they were able to obtain all the spices they needed in Lisbon, and from that port they carried them over a large part of Northern Europe. But these conditions were not to continue.

Since 1555, when Charles V voluntarily abdicated in favor of his son, King Philip II, all of the seventeen Netherlands provinces had been under the dominion of that bigoted and narrow-minded ruler. But since 1567, the seven northern provinces had been in open-armed rebellion, abetted and assisted by William, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau, known as William the Silent, who played the same rôle in the history of the Netherlands that George Washington afterward did in American history. These rebellious provinces finally declared their independence, and the New Republic of the Seven Netherlands Provinces was born in 1587 by the Act of Abjuration.

When in 1580 the union of Spain and Portugal was made complete, the Portuguese colonies passed under the scepter of the Spanish king. The latter allowed the spice trade to continue for quite a while, but finally, in 1587, he closed the Lisbon and Spanish markets to his rebellious former subjects, now his declared enemies.

It may seem strange to us that long after the Netherlands and Spain were at war, this trade had continued, and the ships flying the Netherlands flag were admitted to the harbors of the enemy without being molested. But one should remember that in

those times rulers made war mostly with hirelings. The sons and daughters of each nation had not yet been taught, as modern children are from their early childhood, that they spring from a race superior to any other in the world. The system of engaging mercenaries to cut the throats of other mercenaries, in lieu of sending the flower of a nation's manhood to the slaughter, was still in vogue. It was only when a small nation like Holland was attacked by an enemy who could muster an overwhelming army of mercenaries, that the citizens themselves arose, sword in hand, to defend their ancient liberties. They fought, not because they were filled with intense hatred of each and every subject of the invading ruler, but only because they hated the ruler himself, and his minions who brought such suffering.

The Spaniards, Portuguese, and Netherlanders of those times still thought that patriotism was a virtue and must come from the heart, and therefore must be kindly; internationalism was a matter of mind and therefore must be sensible. Furthermore, inasmuch as their viewpoints proved rather beneficial financially, they did not see their way clear to make an immediate change. They clung to the doctrine of the open sea, which is now strictly observed by several of the world-powers, notably by Switzerland, Bolivia, and Luxemburg. The "enemy" merchant ships of either country were therefore hospitably received in their harbors. Inasmuch as the main energy of the Spanish and Portuguese shipowners was directed to the exten-

sion of their commerce with America and Asia, they rather welcomed the advent of the northern traders in their harbors, for here was the necessary link in the great chain of ocean carriage from Oriental producers to Occidental consumers. At the same time they allowed the paid assassins of their king to do all the killing they could, and went about their business.

It is rather amusing that when the authorities of Spain put a stop to this trade by suddenly placing an embargo on all Dutch ships in Spanish and Portuguese harbors (1585), there was a great outcry, not only in the Netherlands, but also in the other two countries, that "the Spanish government had not played fair." The arrangement which had existed prior to the seizure of the Dutch ships in the Spanish harbors did not seem to bother the consciences of the old burghers of Amsterdam very much. They had nothing in particular against the Portuguese and Spanish merchants as such. While they fought His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, they themselves were, from a commercial standpoint, so catholic that they declared their willingness "to sail to hell and burn the sails of their ships, so long as there was some good honest bartering in sight." Those who are so much inclined to criticize, in the light and pride of this era, the sayings and feelings of people of former times, may well hesitate and wonder sometimes whether or not modern chauvinism, which masquerades so often under the name of patriotism, is a virtue or a vice.

True patriotism should assist a man in acquiring the "world-sense."

All modern nations are more or less suffering from the lack of this "world-sense." The budgets of most of them tell an appalling story. As much as 90 per cent of the total revenue goes to the payment of interest and the amortization of national debts directly traceable to past wars, or to the maintenance of great military and naval establishments—that is, preparedness for new wars. The balance of 10 per cent must suffice for all government purposes, such as sanitation, education, public improvements, public services, and what not. The people are groaning under taxation, while the affected governments are assuring the struggling tax-payers that their own particular wars are always "defensive" ones.

Before the French Revolution the treasure chest of the king was generally identical with the public treasury. It was thought that this abuse would be cured when the other wrong of having mercenary soldiers was abolished. In place of the king's debts, which were partly just and partly the result of riotous living and lavish gifts to male and female favorites, we have now huge national debts, also partly created by proper expenditures, and partly squandered on the enormous military and naval establishments of modern times.

Instead of mercenary troops, Hessians, and the like, we have in most countries tremendous national armies, composed of willing and unwilling conscripts.

Under the new system, armies of nationals are placed in the fields in numbers formerly unheard of. Even Napoleon's "heavy battalions" numbered seldom over two hundred and fifty thousand, a mere handful in modern battle. Moreover, blood as a national substance is wasted on a scale that makes the efforts of former kings and tyrants look like child's play. Nowadays national hatreds are bred such as the world has never dreamed of before.

Those who have seen the camp and revival meetings held so commonly in the western parts of the United States twenty or thirty years ago will realize how easy it is to whip into a frenzy an otherwise perfectly rational population. People used to flock to these camp meetings from miles and miles. They came on foot, on horseback, in light rigs, and in heavy farm wagons. They came singly or with whole families, and generally pitched camp alongside a living stream. If the preacher was successful as a revivalist or exhorter, he soon had his listeners in a frenzy of religious hysteria. Those who, besides being preachers, had a good knowledge of mob psychology accomplished wonders. Posts had to be placed in the ground so that the converts or returned backsliders could grip them in their wild jumping, after the "spirit" had entered them. Some were granted the "gift of tongues"; others barked like dogs, and all of them were supposed to be Christians! The military masters of Germany, no matter what their other defects may have been, were for years experts in this mob

psychology, debauching the minds of an otherwise sane people. Moreover, the militarists in other countries are rapidly following suit.

But to return to the question of the Dutch navigators. As we have seen, the sturdy burghers of the Low Lands were not obsessed with the new nationalism. In the meantime the Spanish king had also closed the ports of Santa Maria and San Lucas against the Netherlands trading-vessels which called there for salt, with the result that these traders were driven to the Cape Verde Islands, still nearer the Indies.

The route to the Indies was not entirely unfamiliar to the Dutch navigators. For some time prior to the union between Spain and Portugal the merchants of the latter country had employed Dutch sailors and navigation officers in preference to Spaniards, whom they feared as possible competitors in their profitable Indian trade. Spanish merchants trading to the Antilles employed Dutch sailors in preference to Portuguese, for the same reason.

The Reverend Plancius, an enterprising divine dwelling in Amsterdam, had slowly accumulated quite a collection of data and navigation charts, indicating the routes to the Indies. Moreover, Jan Huizen Linschoten, afterward famous as a cartographer, having left his fatherland, Holland, when he was only seventeen years old, and having for several years led a roving life in Spain, Portugal, and the Indies, published a description of his travels containing very important information which the Hollanders were

VIEW OF THE CRATER BROMO TO THE LEFT, NEXT TO IT THE BATOK AND WIDODAREN, AND SEMERU IN DISTANCE

eager to get.[1] Yet the Holland merchants were never known to be hasty in their judgments. "Consider before you decide"[2] has always been and still is their motto, and they therefore sent their agent Houtman to Lisbon in 1592, ostensibly to trade, but in reality to gather additional navigation data and general information.

The route followed by the Portuguese had its very serious drawbacks. In the first place one would have to breast the storms in the Atlantic, especially severe near the Bay of Biscay; then again there were the storms which one almost invariably encountered in rounding the Cape of Good Hope. In addition there was to be faced the danger of being captured by the Spanish fleet, or worse still by the pirates who infested the seas between Spain and the Azores Islands, and who spared neither friend nor foe. The Dutch merchants therefore decided to try the northern route, and in 1594 four vessels started on this northern trip. On one of these vessels Linschoten was supercargo. The vessels returned after several months' absence, claiming that they had located an open passage through the northern waters. In 1595 a second trial was made to find this passage, but without success.

A third effort was made in 1596, two vessels being sent out. One was under the command of Captain de Ryp, and the other had as supercargo Heemskerck,

[1] See Linschoten's *Reys-Geschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloysers in Orienten.*

[2] "Zindt voor gij begint," or "Wikt voor gij beschikt."

with Willem Barends as chief navigating officer. This endeavor ended in a tragedy for the ship of Heemskerck, and Barends was imprisoned in the ice near Nova Zembla, where the ship wintered. After unbelievable hardships this vessel finally managed to return in the spring, but Willem Barends died on the way home.

In the meantime the impatience of the Netherlanders had increased, for they thought that valuable time had been lost, and that competitors might obtain priority rights. Preparations for a new voyage were rushed, with the result that on the second day of April, 1595, four vessels sailed from Holland bound for the Indies. While these ships were supposed to constitute one compact squadron, still each captain was supreme on board his own vessel. His letter of command contained the expression, "Commander of the vessel, next to God."

The chief pilot on board these ships was one Pieter Dirckzoon Keyser, who was the pupil of the learned preacher Plancius, already mentioned, while the supercargo, directly representing the merchants interested, was the famous Cornelis de Houtman. Inasmuch as resistance was expected, and as a precaution against pirates and other enemies on the high seas, these vessels carried 250 armed men. To make navigation as safe as possible, the astronomer, Pieter Dirckzoon Keyser, had been engaged as chief navigation expert, and the ships safely rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and dropped anchor in the roadstead of Bantam, just 446 days after their departure from the home port.

It cannot be claimed that the Hollanders displayed much tact after their arrival. In fact they committed several serious mistakes. They found that the Portuguese were not in a position to oppose them, being engaged in a struggle with the King of Bantam (on the most western end of Java). Instead of remaining neutral they gave the Portuguese aid and comfort, which did not add to their popularity with the natives. The trip was far from satisfactory in material results, and the nine merchants of Amsterdam who had organized the "Far Away Company"[1] and financed the enterprise had good cause for disappointment.

From that time on, however, expeditions from Holland to the Indies followed one another in rapid succession. The first was under Van Neck, who arrived with three ships in the offing before Bantam in the latter part of 1598. He had succeeded in making the trip in less than one-half the time made by Houtman. Van Neck made a successful return trip to the mother country, and arrived there with 600,000 pounds of pepper, 250,000 pounds of cloves, 2,000 pounds of nutmeg, and 200 pounds of mace—the richest cargo ever brought to the Netherlands. The result can be imagined! New "Far Away" companies were organized almost over night. They were soon very numerous, and a keen competition set in between them.

[1] Maatschappy van Verre; see F. van Rysens, *Netherlands History*, p. 202; also *History of Java*, by Donald MacLain Campbell, H.B.M. Consul in Java, published in 1915.

Oldebarneveldt, the famous Dutch statesman, soon realized that this competition would quickly degenerate into open strife and bitter quarrels, bringing loss and destruction instead of wealth and unity to the country. He therefore bent his energies and his powerful influence to the task of uniting these warring interests and welding them into one great commercial body. He found a stimulus in the fact that already, in the year 1600, the British East Indian Company had been founded, and his keen foresight made him realize that unless a powerful body was organized, the fight against the Portuguese, as well as against English adventurers and savage natives, would be a losing one.

Oldebarneveldt obtained the co-operation of his government by truthfully pointing out that the fast-growing East Indian trade demanded maritime protection against enemies and pirates, and that the combination of all the Indian merchants and "Far Away" companies would create a body powerful enough to have its own armed vessels, and thereby relieve the government of this expensive task.

In 1602 the States General (the Congress of the different provinces) issued a special charter to the East Indian Company, which was in fact its birth certificate. With the granting of this charter, the foundation was laid for that Netherlands empire in the Far East which has challenged many times the admiration of the world.

CHAPTER VII. THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES, *Concluded*

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIAN COMPANY—INSULINDE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Strenuous times—Slavery—Lack of moral responsibility—Actions of Company to be viewed in light of those times—Power of Company—Its charter—Monopoly—Financial policy—Sovereign rights—No national unity in Insulinde—Different stages of development—Warfare of sultans—Nobility and land tenure—Real estate laws—Customary law—Hindu law—The *Adat*—Moslem law—Overlordship of sultans—Javanese serfs—The nobility—Treaties of white men with rulers—Concessions—Chinese and Arabs—Loyalty of natives to rulers—Relations of Company, commercial—Powers extended—Profits of Company—Forced labor—Native rights given scant attention—Causes—Political rights of Company utilized—Governor General Coen—English competition—Djakatra taken—Coen's motto—War with Mataram—Pieter Eberfeld, the traitor—Preanger gained—Mataram split into two sultanates—Suzerainty over west coast of Borneo—Overlordship of Netherlands—Decline of Company's power—Corruption—Free trade—Company abolished—Colonies lost to England—Restored by treaty—Holland under Napoleon—Colonies again lost—Governor Raffles—Indies restored to Batavian Republic—Condition of archipelago—Java—Buitenzorg—Marshall Daendel's policy—Road across Java—The outlying possessions—Coffee culture

THE HISTORICAL TITLE OF THE NETHERLANDS TO THE EAST INDIAN COLONIES, *Concluded*

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIAN COMPANY

THE history of the Netherlands East Indian Company is very much the same as that of most overseas trading and conquering companies of those ages. It was a heroic history from a material standpoint, the history of deeds of strong men with strong minds, men endowed with consciences which, when it came to the rights of the "heathen" or "savages," were not known for any too great delicacy.

These were the times when Protestants in the Netherlands were led to the *auto da fe'* (burning pyre) by the Inquisition, and died in the flames with songs on their lips; when the Protestants most cheerfully retaliated whenever the opportunity arose; when Spanish and Italian nobles of old Catholic lineage, who were in command of the forces of the King of Spain in the Netherlands, unblushingly broke their word of honor given to a retreating foe, and butchered men, women, and children without hesitation. For were these people not rebels against His Majesty the King, and worse yet, heretics in the eyes of the Mother Church?

These were the times when a statesman like Oldebarneveldt, a man of seventy-two years, bent

with the cares of the republic, was led to the scaffold by his political enemies, and his old gray head put under the executioner's ax. His trial had been a violation of the laws of Holland, which required that accusation should follow within six weeks of arrest, or the prisoner must be freed. His last words were, "Citizens, I have been your compatriot throughout my life. Believe not that I die for treason, but for the maintenance of the liberty and the laws of the country."[1]

These were also the times when the illustrious international lawyer Grotius, the author of *De Jure Praedae*, of *The History of Old Holland*, of *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, and many other works which forever have established his fame in the world of intellect, was imprisoned and barely escaped with his life.[2] These were the times when Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in England, after years of loyalty and service to his queen; when Catholic kings of France murdered Protestant noblemen of great virtue and patriotism without the least hesitation; and Protestant princes of Germany were often guilty of barbarous cruelty toward the Jews.

From the enlightened viewpoint these early conquerors of the Indies had, to say the least, some very robust notions about their rights. Slavery was with them a recognized institution, as it was in

[1] See Burginys, *Vie de Grotius*, Vol. I, p. 102.

[2] Read Hamilton Vreeland's *Hugo Grotius*, Oxford University Press, 1917.

the American Colonies, and these Hollanders had exactly the same ideas on the subject as then prevailed in the greater part of the world. God-fearing American plantation owners did not inquire too closely, if at all, into the methods which the masters of slave-vessels used on the African coast for the purpose of obtaining a "cargo." They simply bought so much human material at the best prevailing prices, paying little attention to the horrors of the trade.

The citizens of New England, like good Christians, abhorred so baneful an institution as slavery. Far be it from them to allow the introduction of such a contemptible system in their midst. They shipped rum to Africa's darkest coast, and this rum was traded for black slaves. But the hard climate of the north was totally unfit for the delicate constitutions of the black, so these sunny, carefree children from the equator were taken to the mild and fever-infested climate of the West Indies. Here the ships unloaded their cargo of humans, and took a load of molasses, which in turn was again translated into rum, and so on *ad infinitum*, but no slave had ever been brought to the sacred shores of the new freedom!

The psalm-singing burghers of Amsterdam had about the same notions in regard to their moral responsibilities toward the slave trade. They blamed the institution on the native rulers, and this of course made a very satisfactory difference, especially from a high ethical standpoint. The facts are that while slaves were kept by the native princes and

sultans outside of Java, in that principal island slavery was practically unknown until introduced by Europeans.

In the Indies the sultans exercised an autocratic power over their subjects. In the various islands different customs prevailed, but, generally speaking, the rule of the prince was absolute. The servants of the Company were not very slow in taking advantage of these conditions, and slavery and slave-trading in one form or another were countenanced and profited by. Sometimes whole countrysides were affected by these "manipulations." It is safe to assume that these small matters did not bother the consciences of the enterprising directors of the Company, nor affect the sensibilities of the shareholders. On the contrary, they would have been perfectly astounded if anyone had pointed out that the money which they received was, to put it charitably, slightly tainted.

These robust Hollanders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were famous for their tolerance toward all denominations, and not less famous for the hospitality with which they received all those who fled from their own countries on account of religious or political persecution. But they who had such vigorous ideas of political and religious freedom for the Europeans had equally energetic notions when it came to making profit from the "heathens" or "niggers." Apparently their consciences did not at any time bother them on this point.

Moreover, the Hollanders were still deprived of all advantages flowing from the precepts and teachings of modern colonizing. They had not been able to observe the methods of a Christian nation in the Congo, which in the end of the nineteenth century brought so successfully the kindly teachings of Christ to darkest Africa, thereby Christianizing a host of natives into their graves; nor the methods of a courteous Oriental nation in "de-Christianizing" its neighbor.

To say the least, those were vigorous and relentless times. The methods employed were in keeping with the religious intolerance and the savage views of the majorities. We must therefore view the actions of the Netherlands East Indian Company from period to period, in the light of the status of advancement which European thought had generally acquired at a corresponding period. And if we do this, we must be more impressed with the restraint which was exercised than with the license which was tolerated. That the newly organized Company was expected to acquire power and become a world-factor may be inferred from the fact that the Admiral of Arragon declared, soon after its incorporation, that it was a menace to the Spanish Empire, a menace equal in danger to that of the formation of the Republic of the United Netherlands itself. How great a compliment, both to the Netherlands and to the Company, was hidden in this statement can be easily seen when it is remembered that at that time the Spanish

kingdom was the mightiest empire known and one of the greatest and most powerful the world has ever known, while the so-called "Low Lands" contained less than three million inhabitants and were by comparison a mere speck on the map of the world.

The States General of the Republic of the Netherlands granted a charter for twenty-one years to the Netherlands East Indian Company with the sole right to trade with Oriental countries situated between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. What today would be called in the United States a modern corporation's charter, constitution, and by-laws was, *het octrooi*, granted by the States General to the East Indian Company. This charter was renewed from time to time. Furthermore, with the permit, a penal statute was enacted, prohibiting anyone in the Republic from engaging in this trade except the above-named Company. The penalty was the loss of ship and cargo. Hereby a monopoly was created which had in itself the seed of decay. For a student of the history of finance, it would be interesting to scrutinize closely the financial policy of this Company from its inception to its expiration. For our purpose the following particulars must suffice.

The Company, at the time of its birth, had no fixed minimum or maximum capital. Every citizen of the Republic, yes, even any resident, was allowed to subscribe to the capital stock for any amount he desired. These subscriptions amounted to about six

and a half million guilders, of which more than one-half was subscribed by the merchants of Amsterdam alone.

Amsterdam subscribed for 3,670,000 florins, Middleburg for 1,300,000 florins, Delft 469,000 florins, Rotterdam 173,000 florins, Hoorn 267,000 florins, Enkhuizen 540,000 florins. It is interesting to note that Rotterdam, now the first commercial city in the Netherlands and the second largest port in Europe, was at that time almost negligible, while other cities like Enkhuizen and Middleburg, then so prominent, have now slumped to much inferior places.

While the shares were issued at par, they were quoted in 1622 at 300 per cent, and about a century later (1720) at 1,260 per cent. This was their peak price, for in 1750 they stood at 750, and in 1781 at 215. In 1610 the first dividend was paid. It may be well to observe here that Hollanders have been educated for a long time to the so-called deferred-dividend finance. Generally speaking the American public does not care to absorb shares unless an almost immediate dividend can be assured. The great success of many of the Netherlands enterprises is immediately traceable to this willingness to wait, for years if necessary, for the first dividend.

In that year (1610) a dividend of $132\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was paid, averaging therefore about 15 per cent a year. In 1611 the Company paid 30 per cent, but the shareholders had to wait eight years (until 1619) for another dividend, that time of 30 per cent. From that year on,

with the exception of 1689, regular dividends were paid until 1782. The average over all the years of the Company's existence was 18 per cent. (For the last ten years [1910–19] the sugar companies operating in the Indies [particularly Java] have paid on an average of $17\frac{1}{10}$ per cent dividends, besides important extra compensations known as *tantiemes*, to the chief officers and employees.)

The first number of directors or managers (*bewindvoerders*) was seventy-three, but gradually this number was reduced. In addition there was a central body of supervising members, called *de Heeren 17* (The Seventeen Gentlemen). The charter of the Company was renewed or amended in the years 1623, 1647, 1673, 1700, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1755, 1777, 1796, and 1798. It consisted of forty-six articles. These articles contained a number of provisions in regard to the curtailment of possible abuses and usurpation of powers of the chief officers of the corporation, and the history of the Company shows that these articles were not inserted in vain.

Several times complaint was made in regard to surmised grafting (*knoeieryen*) and the States General of the Republic endeavored to circumvent these alleged abuses, when the charter was first renewed in 1623, by giving extra power to a committee of principal stockholders, sworn to do their duty. These men were known as *beëedigde participatanten*. They had a supervisory power over the principal financial transactions of the directors. Evil tongues, however,

claimed that these gentlemen were soon on a very amiable footing with those whom they had to watch, with results easily to be surmised. There were also a number of directors in extraordinary, appointed by the constituted authorities, who were supposed to exercise a qualified control. These gentlemen were more or less viewed as spies by the regular directors, and their popularity with the latter remained a debatable quantity.

Article 34 gave to the Company a monopoly in the East Indian trade against all other Netherlanders, and Article 35 bestowed practically sovereign rights on the Company, making it a government within a government.

One of the great difficulties under which the Company labored was its dual capacity. In one respect it was a trading company, pure and simple, bound to make large profits for the shareholders. It took the generally disliked, if not hated, position of the absentee landowner. This side of the Company was especially represented by the trustees (*bewindvoerders*) and the "Director General," residing in the Netherlands.

On the other hand, it was a sovereign, with all the rights and duties of such. Provision was made that the directors should appoint a governor general, who would have full charge of the affairs of the Indies, and that they likewise should appoint a Council of the Indies, the members of which were the legal advisers of the governor general. Those governors

general who happened to be high-minded men with statesmanlike vision, and who were "on the ground," represented the sovereign side of the question. The governors general and the residents under them very often visualized a future political empire in the archipelago. It was they who exercised the great political powers conferred on the Company by Article 35, "to make treaties and war, to build fortresses in the name of the States General of the United Netherlands, etc." They sometimes received the co-operation of the directors in Holland, but often they were opposed, for the latter took the commercial view and arrived at their decisions with eyes fixed on the balance sheets.[1]

INSULINDE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Before proceeding with the more modern history of the archipelago, it may be well to endeavor to visualize the condition these islands were in when the white man "discovered" them, and then consider what influence, if any, the white man exercised during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

For anyone who has not visited the Orient, it is extremely difficult to conjure before the mind the conditions as they prevail there now. It has been

[1] Even today the same struggle, though of course in a modified form, is observed in the islands. The representatives there of "big business" are occasionally opposed in their views of economic improvement by their home office. And this is most natural, for the former have to satisfy the population among whom they live, and from which they draw their labor supply, while the latter must satisfy its numerous stockholders.

truly said that no matter how much one may read or think of the Orient, one will find it far different from what one imagined. It therefore follows that it must be still more difficult to imagine the conditions which for several centuries preceded present conditions. The Orient, however, does not change as rapidly as the Occident. On the contrary, it is tenacious of thought and bound to traditions. In a great many aspects conditions of today are the same as they were a thousand years ago. Since the Oriental mind clings to customs and traditions very much more than the Occidental mind, it is therefore much easier to deduce conditions in the past from those existing in the present, than it would be to make the same deductions in regard to European or American conditions and institutions.

From the short sketch contained in the chapter devoted to ethnology it must be apparent that there is not now, and never was, a general national existence in the Indies. An ethnological map of this archipelago looks very much like a crazy quilt. Not only are the inhabitants of these islands of widely different blood and descent, but there has never been any material fusion of tribes and nationalities. The people of adjacent or neighboring localities have not only radically different customs, traditions, and ideals, but they speak entirely different languages, and use different characters for writing.

For instance, the island of Java is admittedly the farthest advanced, from both a material and an

ethical standpoint. Still in this island alone there are three distinct nations, not to mention many foreigners who, while interspersed with the general population, maintain a separate existence. In Western Java we find the Sundanese, a people with a separate language, traditions, and folklore. They speak Sundanese, which is not understood by the inhabitants of Central Java, who are presumed to be the true Javanese, and who speak both high and low Javanese. The people inhabiting the eastern part of Java are the Madurese, and they also speak a language totally different from the Sundanese, and materially different from the Javanese spoken in Central Java. The Sundanese use the Arabian-Sundanese alphabet. The Javanese and Madurese languages have a "sound" alphabet consisting of twenty characters.

A certain percentage of the more educated members of each nation, especially those living in the coast districts, speak Malay in a simple form, this being the commercial language of the whole Far East. Malay uses the same Arabian characters as those of the Arabian and Turkish languages, and it is generally asserted that one who has a working knowledge of Malay can read simple Arabian, but not Turkish. Throughout the archipelago, eight or ten main languages are spoken, while as many as sixty dialects are in use. Inasmuch as most of the natives of each district speak only their own particular tongue, there can be no interchange of ideas among the majority of them. The Netherlands tongue,

known as "Dutch," is now making slow headway among some of the natives.

If one considers that besides the difference in blood, customs, and languages, there is also a vast dissimilarity in the religions of the inhabitants of the islands, and even between regions on the same island, it becomes apparent that "national life" was at the time of the advent of the white man quite out of the question. It is still for that matter.

Java, for instance, is almost entirely Mohammedan and the immediately adjacent islands of Bali and part of Lombok are purely Brahmanistic. In some parts of Northern Celebes and adjacent islands, the Christian religion has made considerable headway among the natives, while again in Borneo and other islands, where neither the Hindu, Mohammedan, nor Christian religion has made any impression, idolatry is practiced.

If these are the conditions prevailing at the present time, after centuries of contact with the white man, after modern transportation has brought these different parts closely together, it is easily understood that the early white visitors had to deal not with a "nation," but with a conglomeration of small communities and tribes, all having separate traditions, ideals, customs, religions, social and political beliefs. There could therefore be no question of national ideals or a common goal to be reached; neither could one hope for racial evolution along national lines for centuries to come.

Indeed, the people inhabiting these islands were and are in widely differing stages of social and moral evolution. They shaded down from those who lived in the comparatively high state of Hindu civilization, affected sometimes on the surface by Mohammedanism, to the savages, cannibals, and head-hunting tribes in the interior of some of the islands. Where a qualified civilization had been reached, Oriental satraps and sultans had established themselves in barbaric splendor, considering their subjects as slaves to their whims and wishes.

They were in constant warfare with one another, and their subjects were simply pawns on their own private chess boards of ambition and strife. This condition was made comparatively easy, for the difference in blood and customs brought in its train suspicion, contempt, and hatred for the inhabitants of another state, or even for the inhabitants of an adjacent village, so that it was easy to inflame them. The Oriental in that respect seems to have been centuries ahead of the Europeans.

At the time of the advent of the white man in the archipelago, the Hindu influence was the strongest and most prevalent. To a large extent it still is. When the writer visited the court of one of the younger princes in central Java in 1919, he witnessed a marriage ceremony of a member of the sultan's household, conducted with all the old Buddhist formalities, notwithstanding that the host and all the participants were presumed to be devout Mohammedans.

When first the Portuguese, and afterward the Hollanders, arrived overseas in these islands, they found approximately these conditions:

In Java there was an old Hindu civilization, overlaid with a thin veneer of Mohammedanism. They found native princes, such as the Sultan of Bantam, the King of Mataram, and other chiefs and nobles ruling over a comparatively docile Hindu-Malay population. These princes were engaged in continuous internal warfare. Those who had become Mohammedans gladly combined and declared "holy wars" on those who remained Buddhist. All exercised absolute power over their subjects, as was common until recent times in all Oriental countries.

On the outlying islands were likewise many powerful rulers, such as the Sultan of Ternate, the Sultan of Makassar (Celebes), the Sultan of Atjeh (Sumatra), and many others.

There were also "spots" of civilization, mostly among the descendants of the Javanese and Hindus, who had established themselves on other islands as, for instance, near Palembang, Sumatra.

The white man found that Java was, for those times, densely populated, while the other islands were very sparsely occupied (as they still are), and while the rule of the princes extended over practically all Java, the rule of the outlying sultanates, with only a few exceptions, covered the coast ranges only, the interior places being occupied by hostile and savage tribes. Pirates from without and

head-hunters from within were constantly engaged in expeditions to the different coast districts, and in a large part of the archipelago people lived in fear and trembling from these marauders, who in cruelty and ferociousness made the Norsemen of Europe look like benevolent Christian gentlemen. Even some of the sultans were not averse to the practice of piracy, whenever the opportunity seemed to be propitious.

In addition to the native population, there was quite a number of Arabs, who were the retail traders of the country. To a large extent they still are, together with the Chinese.

There had always been a constant flow of travel from the islands to Arabia and vice versa. In the first place Arabs, ever since the great invasion, and even prior to that, had come to these far-off lands to trade. Again, since Java had become Mohammedan, many pilgrims from the Indies flocked to Mecca and the grave of the Prophet. This travel continues today. While most of the other islands were occupied by savage or semi-savage tribes, Java had enjoyed first a Hindu and afterward a mixed Mohammedan and Hindu civilization for centuries. Powerful rulers had established themselves in the islands, and one of the principal states was the Hindu state of Madjapahit in the latter part of the fifteenth century. During the Mohammedan invasion, this state had been annihilated and was succeeded by the state of Demak. Demak finally gave way to the state of Mataram. Thus in Java a Hindu civilization had

firmly taken root. Here was built up a whole system of nobility and land tenure which has a faint resemblance to the feudal system of Europe.

In Europe under the feudal system, and especially in England, where the whole structure of the state was based on its feudal system of landownership, with its many kinds of fees, feoffments, and estates, the power of the overlords was limited first by custom and the innate desire of the white man for individual liberty, and afterward by an elaborate system of adjudicated land law. In the Indies, however, this overlordship was very poorly curbed, either by customary law or by individual effort.

In some countries of Europe, the early systems of land tenure and the old real estate laws are somewhat puzzling to the casual student, but they are the very simplest ABC as compared with the mass of systems and sub-systems existing in the different islands. Generally speaking, one may say that the right obtained by the subject was a usufructuary right only, a kind of tenancy for life and during occupancy. Afterward some of these rights became hereditary, and also subject to voluntary or forced transfer, as for instance in the case of debt. The rights were complicated and led sometimes to conditions which resemble the shifting and springing uses of the old English law. These rights were confined to the inhabitants of each dessa or village. Sometimes the whole village migrated, or rather, shifted its base of agricultural operations, in order to

obtain new ground. The soil was robbed and then abandoned for virgin soil.

While the land customs prevailing in the various parts of the archipelago were therefore widely different, *in general* it may be said that the unoccupied lands, those which were not cultivated, belonged directly to the sultans, afterward to the Company, and now to the government. The status of these lands compares with that of the public domain in the United States. White men could not obtain a title to them in fee simple absolute,[1] and neither could the natives. They were either used for the prince, or in common by the villagers, or lay unused. A usufructuary right could generally be obtained by the natives, and if this right was uninterruptedly exercised and for a beneficial purpose it often ripened into a possessory right, which in many cases was transferable, but only to a person belonging to the same village. In other villages the land was all held in common, to be allotted yearly to the farmers of the community.

Even today, possession of land in fee simple absolute, in an alodial sense of ownership, is practically unknown except for town lots within the incorporated cities. In the cities and villages the necessity of

[1] An exception to this rule was the granting of some estates by the East Indian Company on the islands of Java and Celebes, and to an even greater extent the creating of such private estates by the British government during the temporary English occupation in the beginning of the last century. The government, however, exerts itself gradually to recover this land.

absolute ownership was felt in the Indies as formerly in England, where it gave rise to the estates in burgage. The complexity of the old law is as bewildering as the real estate law. Like the common law of England, it was a customary law. In accordance with the teachings of Islam, the customary law or *Adat* (also known as the *Hadat*) could be given credence only when the written law was silent on the subject, or else when that law specifically referred to the *Adat*.

It has been observed before that the Hindu customs were still prevalent everywhere, notwithstanding Islam. So it was with the law. The customary laws of the various nationalities and tribes, based on Buddhist prescription, took precedence generally over the Moslem laws of later date, despite the Koran. For instance the Moslem law does not recognize personal indenture for debt, but the Hindu customary law or old *Adat* does, and for a long time, well into the nineteenth century, this custom (so-called *pandelingschap*) generally prevailed throughout the archipelago.

Especially in middle Java among the former Buddhists and among the Malays of Sumatra belonging to the Menangkabau tribe, the *Adat* was much in evidence. But because the law was a customary law, and the customs of the tribes and nationalities differed so widely, there never was nor could there be any semblance of unity in what might be called the native jurisprudence of the archipelago.

With the overlordship of the land by the sultans went a vast power over the population and its labor. By inclination and necessity the Javanese is a farmer. The soil has been incredibly productive, and has required little work to produce a large return.[1] From time immemorial the *sawahs* (rice fields) of the Javanese have received his undivided attention, and irrigation has been practiced on an extensive scale. Even today we can find in Java water conduits and dams in rivers which have been there for ages. For years the native had the custom of counting his age by the number of crops, and of counting the time of the year by the condition of his "paddie" or rice crop.

Now, as for centuries past, a son of the soil, the Javanese stays by preference in his own village or dessa. In fact it can be truly said that rice-farming is as near to the heart of the Javanese as viticulture is to the heart of the French farmer. When driving over Java, one is continually impressed by the peaceful spirit which seems to hover over the landscape. Small Javanese boys drive carabaos (tame buffalo) to their daily mud baths or sit upon their backs while they graze on the long, tough grass which seems to grow everywhere.

The Javanese whom one now sees tilling the soil is a freeman, while his ancestor was a serf of the soil

[1] At the present time the government is making a determined effort to induce the population to use artificial fertilizers and practice rotation of crops.

AGRICULTURAL JAVA

and for all practical purposes a bondsman of his native ruler. As in Europe, where the nobility boasts of its princes, dukes, earls, counts, viscounts, barons, baronets, and knights, so in Java a whole hierarchy of nobility grew up under the Hindu civilization. At the top of the pyramid stood of course the independent and semi-independent rulers, mostly called sultans or rajahs. They could be compared with the dukes and great counts of olden times in Continental Europe, who likewise indulged in continuous warfare with one another, considered their subjects as so much material in their game for power, and seldom recognized an effective overlordship of any kind. Immediately below these independent rulers was a class of men who bore the title of *pangéran*. This title may be translated by the word prince, and they were almost invariably connected by blood with one of the ruling sultans. The next title was *radhen adipati*, and under these came the *radhen toemengoeng*, *radhen mas*, and *radhen* (or *raden*).

As a matter of course, the Portuguese, and the Hollanders who came after them, made their treaties with the ruling kings or sultans. From them they obtained the concessions to erect trading-posts or factories and to do business with the natives. Through the sultans and princes they obtained the much-coveted spices and other products for which there was a constantly growing demand in Europe.

One should keep in mind that the Javanese are not traders or merchants by inclination or heredity.

In those early days they seem to have been averse to trade, and they have remained so, for even today the "big business" is all done by the white man or the Chinese. The wholesale business is controlled mostly by the Chinese, and the retailing by the Arabs and Chinese together (with the exception of the white men's stores, *tokos*, for white men's custom), while the Javanese simply keep the small eating-places, *warongs*, sometimes in connection with notion stores. As there were few Javanese merchants, the Hollanders were of necessity compelled to deal with the political chiefs of the different nations.[1] But while the first foothold in the islands was a result of compromising with the sultans, in the course of years it became apparent that slowly but surely the white man must be the protector of the native against the descendants of the very princes with whom the original treaties were made, and today the *orang blanda*, or white man, is the bulwark of protection for the simple native dessaman (villager) against the descendants of his former native rulers.

Customs die hard in the Orient, and notwithstanding that the flag of Netherlands has been flying for nearly three hundred years over the Colonies, and that the descendants of these old princes and near-princes are simply paid officials of the Nether-

[1] The Malays in the northern part of Sumatra and some other parts of the Indies are much keener (called "pienter") in trade than the Javanese. The result is that the Arabs have by far less influence among these Malays than they have among the gentler Javanese, whom they oppress with usurious methods.

lands government, as they have been for a hundred years, still the natives pay extraordinary deference to them,[1] and if it were not for the continuous watchfulness of the white government officials, even today, some of the native princes would have almost a free field for any amount of oppression and extortion.

The contact between the Netherlands East Indian Company and the native sultans and chiefs was at first purely commercial. It was practically the same kind of contact which the Hollanders maintained as a monopoly in Japan for centuries, for it was trade and trade only which brought the Hollanders to the Indies. But inasmuch as the sultans of the outlying states were continuously engaged in piracy, and as it was all-important for the success of the great spice trade that order be maintained and a stop put to the internal warfare, the political power of the Company was constantly extended and new forts built.

It is safe to assume that the Hollanders of those times used the same ruthlessness in the treatment of natives and their white opponents as they used among themselves; but still they showed remarkable restraint and liberality in some respects. They laid the foundation of their great success by resolutely refusing to

[1] Shortly before the departure of the Crown Prince of Djokjakarta (a vassal of the Dutch government) for Holland in the fall of 1919, the writer stayed at the Hotel des Indes at Weltevreden, near Batavia. The Crown Prince likewise has his apartments there. A constant stream of native nobles could be observed, wending its way to the latter's headquarters and approaching the future Sultan of Djokjakarta with signs of the utmost respect, if not abasement.

adopt the system which most colonizing nations have used in the past, and even use now, of attempting to force the institutions of the mother country on the unwilling native people. The Hollanders not only carefully refrained from interfering in any way with the religious life of the natives, but they also respected the customs and laws of the land. As their influence and power extended, they took into the service of their new government the former rulers and princes, doing this in such a tactful way as not to give unnecessary umbrage. While the Company was therefore scrupulously careful not to interfere with the religion and social customs of the country, still it was not an exception to the rule then prevailing in the colonizing world of paying little consideration to the individual native and his welfare.

The expected profits which brought the Company to the islands were realized in various ways, mainly through the trade in spices which were purchased at a very low price and sold at an enormous advance. If the natives refused to raise sufficient amounts to supply the markets of the Company, they were often compelled to do so by their chiefs acting at the instigation of the Company. In addition the Company had many other sources of income. Profit was obtained from imports, from monopolies, from import and export duties, from a tax levied on the sale of realty within the villages, and from the coinage of millions of small change.

There were several reasons why the rights of the natives were given scant attention. In the first place it was the trend of the times. No colonizing nation at that time, or for several centuries previously, had given any attention to the rights of the inhabitants of the countries which they had taken by the sword. To be conquered by a superior race was truly to be placed in bondage.

Furthermore, for the first fifty years of their colonizing period the Netherlands themselves were engaged in a struggle for life or death with the great Spanish Empire. The profits which were derived from the Indies were being used to a very material extent in financing this struggle. To the Dutch this seemed a holy war, as indeed it was, for it involved the freedom of religion.

The Netherlanders of the seventeenth century were obsessed with the idea that God was with them in their struggles, an idea, by the way, of which those Netherlanders had no monopoly, for most of the armies of the warring nations were only too much inclined to bend their knees on the eve of battle, praying for divine guidance and strength, and then next day, with the name of God on their lips, to commit the worst atrocities imaginable.

It was not an easy task for the mother country to maintain a semblance of order and safety in an archipelago many thousands of miles away, in extent forty-six times that of her own territory, with a population seven times larger than her own, living

in constant turmoil and strife. It often took heroic means to accomplish any result worth while.

The attention of the Company was first directed to Java as offering the greatest possibilities, for while its first proceedings were of purely a commercial nature, it soon began to take advantage of the political rights granted by the States General of the Netherlands.

At the time of the first permanent settlement in Java, the Netherlands merchants found the trade of the whole western part of the island controlled by the powerful Sultan of Bantam. His sultanate not only extended over the western part of Java, but also over the southern part of Sumatra, the so-called Lampong district. In the harbor of Bantam was concentrated the principal pepper trade of the island. This coveted trade was exclusively in the hands of the Sultan of Bantam and the nobles immediately surrounding the court. Under them a great many Chinese merchants operated, and some of them had acquired considerable wealth and influence. A few of the Portuguese discoverers of the island, and their descendants, were also located there. Later the British East Indian Company established a factory. French and Danish merchants likewise participated in the trade. As a consequence, intrigues, plots, and counterplots were hatched by the representatives of the different nations, who endeavored to get the advantage. However, for a long time the Sultan of Bantam managed to levy

a heavy export duty on all pepper sent out of his territory.

The balance of the island of Java was, for all practical purposes, under the sway and dominion of the powerful King of Mataram who resided at his capital, Karta. For some time he had had difficulty in enforcing his authority on other rulers, such as the Sultan or King of Surabaya, and the Sultan of Samarang, but he was generally recognized as the overlord of Java. The Sultan of Bantam alone succeeded in maintaining his independence.

While from the very inception of the Netherlands East Indian Company, it was granted by the States General of the Republic of the United Netherlands a monopoly of trade in the Indies, as against all other Netherlands merchants, this monopoly could not be enforced against the native rulers or the foreign merchants, especially the British East Indian Company. A monopoly against these two classes of individuals could be obtained only by driving the latter out of the Indies by force of arms, and by acquiring monopolistic rights through treaties or conquest from the former. The whole policy of the Netherlands East Indian Company at home and in the Indies was directed toward these aims. Each and every act of the Council of Seventeen in the Netherlands, and of the governor general and the Council of the Indies at Batavia, was dominated and controlled by these aims. It was therefore the commercial policy of the Company which directed its

political actions. On the other hand, the Company being a semi-public corporation, a creature of the state, its actions in the Indies were necessarily much affected by the relations of peace or war which the mother country bore to other colonizing nations. In many instances therefore the hands of the governor general were withheld from action, because such action in the Far East might affect adversely the interests of the mother country in Europe.

Finally, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the kingdom of England and the republic of the Netherlands agreed, by the Treaty of Westminster, that their respective East Indian companies, and their officials and servants would not be allowed to engage in strife and warfare with one another in the Indies, except after mutual consent of the mother countries. The Netherlands East Indian Company's policy as to the native rulers was the policy of *divide et impera*.[1] Following this policy to its logical conclusion, it encouraged the Sultan of Bantam against the encroachments of the King of Mataram, and, on the other hand, was not unwilling at the proper time to give the latter aid and comfort against the former. It went even farther. Its officials very often mixed in the endless intestine strife at the courts, generally aiding the rightful occupant of the throne against a powerful pretender.

[1] *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders op Java*, by M. L. van Deventer, Vol. I, p. 123.

When reading the history of the Netherlands East Indian Company and of Java in those days, one is impressed with the fact that the Company always delayed granting the urgent request of the harassed prince to have its commanders and troops interfere, until the ruler was in actual peril of losing not only his crown, but his life. Thus the ruler was impressed with the idea that only the strong and ruthless hand of the Company had been able to save him from destruction, and that therefore great compensation and favors were due it.

It took some time, however, before the Company was able to occupy the powerful position which it finally reached. In the beginning it could locate an establishment or so-called factory only on the site of the present town of Batavia. This site was obtained as a concession from the Pangéran of Djakatra, a powerful vassal of Mataram. It was located at the borderline between the domain of the Sultan of Bantam and the kingdom of Mataram. This post was established by Governor General Peter Both, but later Governor General J. P. Coen built a fort around the trading-post. The remains of this fort still exist.

From that time dates the struggle between Batavia and Bantam for commercial supremacy, a struggle which lasted for more than eighty years and finally ended in 1682, when the Sultan of Bantam granted to the Company the long-wished-for monopoly in trade, in return for the material aid which the

Company had given him in maintaining his rights against pretenders.

Long prior to this success the British East Indian Company had established a factory at Djakatra, as well as one at Bantam. Moreover, a great many English adventurers had appeared in the archipelago, and the king of Mataram finally decided to drive the hated Holland traders from the islands. He was aided and abetted by the rival Europeans.

Coen, hearing that an English fleet was approaching, took to the sea, leaving the command of the forces to Van den Broeck. He gave battle which ended in a draw, and then set sail for Amboina in the Moluccas, for the purpose of obtaining additional forces. He returned to the infested stronghold just in the nick of time to save the fortress and its garrison. He then stormed the native stronghold of Djakatra (1619) which he took, and, in accordance with the amiable habits of the times, put the garrison to the sword and burned the town. From the ashes of Djakatra rose the present city of Batavia.[1] Later the city became the seat of the governor general, and in its harbor were concentrated all the ships sailing to and from other trading-posts. Several times during the following decades the Sultan of Mataram endeavored to storm this town, but each time he was defeated.

In order to appreciate the energetic vitality of Coen's statesmanship, it is only necessary to give

[1] M. L. van Deventer, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

his motto: "Never despair, never show your enemies any consideration, for nothing in this world can hurt or harm you, because God is with you. Never mind your former mistakes, for great work is still to be done in the Indies." He wrote these words to the directors of the Company in the Netherlands, and it may be said truly that Coen was the founder of the Netherlands political empire in these far-away regions.

For the purpose of maintaining the position of the Company, it became necessary to engage continuously in warfare. In 1629 the powerful ruler of the kingdom of Mataram, the principal state in middle Java, again endeavored to drive the Dutch merchants out. Since 1625 this ruler had assumed the title of Soesoehoenan Ingalaga, which, literally translated, means Apostle-Prince-Generalissimo. The title had been bestowed on him by all the different sultans, whom he had finally managed to subdue. At that time he was the undisputed overlord of Java[1] except for the

[1] His court, however, remained a hotbed of intrigue. This condition was inevitable. Each ruler generally had four legal wives, the number allowed by the Koran, and in addition a number of concubines. The sons of his legal wives were generally expected to be in the line of succession. It was customary for the ruler, before his death, to indicate his successor, and, as soon as this was done, the door was opened wide to manipulations and machinations by the mothers of other legal sons, who desired to have one of their sons recognized as the heir to the throne.

The ruler lived in sybaritic splendor, and the actual cares of the government fell on a functionary, who is designated in these pages the chancellor or prime minister. The Dutch name is *Ryksbestuurder*,

Sultanate of Bantam and the small territory around Batavia under the flag of the Netherlands Republic. With this extended power, it is small wonder that he decided to drive the Hollanders out of Batavia. One of his successors, with the aid of the Sultan of Makassar, tried again in 1660 to attack Batavia, but his efforts were unsuccessful.

The alliance between Makassar and Mataram did not last very long, however, and in 1675 the Sultan of Makassar declared war on the Soesoehoenan of Mataram. At the same time one of the Mataram nobles, Troeno Djojo, raised the flag of rebellion against the Soesoehoenan. The latter was compelled to beg for aid from the governor general at Batavia, and the troops of the Company, consisting of Hollanders, and auxiliary native troops, mostly Buginese, came to his assistance. Under the command of Captain Sloot they waged war with great energy and cruelty, with the result that Troeno Djojo was killed, and thirty of his immediate retainers were beheaded. In order to show his gratification the Soesoehoenan bestowed upon the Netherlands East Indian Company the long-coveted monopoly of trade.

This was in 1677, and when in 1682 the Sultan of Bantam was likewise compelled to bestow the same

---

meaning regent. He was really a miniature shogun. He had his own court, and his followers quite often intrigued against those of the ruler's court. In fact, as an official the *Ryksbestuurder* was so important that the Netherlands East Indian Company always found it imperative to keep on good terms with him.

OLD BATAVIA

right on the Company it had finally accomplished its purpose as far as the island of Java was concerned, and the British, Danish, and French merchants moved away. At the same time a great many of the Chinese merchants residing in Bantam were induced to change their places of operation to Batavia. Bantam lost forever its former glory, and the city of Batavia became the Queen of Insulinde.

While the Company had been extremely zealous in obtaining these long-coveted monopolies, and the commercial policy had therefore triumphed, it failed to show equal energy in utilizing and improving the acquired benefits.

Governor General Speelman had never lost track of the Company's aim: "Trade in any event, and sole trade if possible." Hardly had the sound of the drums and trumpets of the Netherlands troops died away when the commercial agent of the Company appeared on the scene, demanding commercial concessions in return for political services rendered.[1] Once the concessions were obtained, it appears that the governor general became vacillating and procrastinating.

By this time most of the harbors and landing-places had been provided with fortified "factories." Instead of supplying these trading-posts with abundant merchandise, wherewith trade could be

[1] The policy practiced by the Hollanders of letting the account-book closely follow the sword, was the forerunner of the still more baneful policy practiced by other colonizing powers of letting opium and whiskey follow the preaching of the gospel.

successfully followed, the Company failed entirely in this direction. The subtle native rulers were not slow in observing this. Gratitude for past favors has always been a weak chain with which to hold beneficiaries of inferior morality. It is only the favors to come which appeal to their predatory instincts of rapacity and cunning.

Neither the Soesoehoenan nor the Sultan of Bantam was an exception to this rule. Oriental duplicity in dealing with Occidentals was soon given full opportunity of play. The government of Batavia sent an armed mission to Karta to remind the ruler of Mataram of his obligations. The leader of this mission, Major Tak, was traitorously murdered with several of his lieutenants. Strange to say the Company failed to avenge this outrage. Apparently it feared the results of the difficult warfare in the jungles of interior Java, and dreaded a rebellion in Bantam. Instead, therefore, of sending an expeditionary force to Karta, it brought large tracts of land in the neighborhood of Batavia under direct rule, forbidding the chiefs to consider the Soesoehoenan as their overlord any longer. It annexed the adjoining Preanger Regencies and Cheribon to its own territory. As a result the Soesoehoenan gradually lost his influence in that part of the island, or rather his chancellor and court nobles did. The ruler himself was, as the Company's resident expressed it, "so submerged by his vices, wives, and concubines" that he had become a nonentity.

At that time (1690) the Company built a substantial fort at the Straits of Banda, and named it "Fort Speelwyk."[1]

The Soesoehoenan Amangcoerat, besides having given a monopoly to the Company, had also agreed to pay a certain sum as damages for expenses incurred in the war waged on his behalf. With Oriental duplicity he failed to do this as soon as he considered himself sufficiently strong to turn his back on his rescuers.

In the meantime he got into a different trouble. Soerapati, a run-away slave, had, like Spartacus, organized a slave army, and founded a state in the east corner of Java. Later he married a daughter of the Sultan of Balemboang, an adjoining small sultanate. Together the two sultans defied the overlordship of the king of Mataram, as well as the monopoly of the Company. This brought about a better understanding between the latter two, which was of the greatest importance to the government at Batavia; for the native rulers of the states of Madura, Sumbawa, Borneo, and others, had been losing much of their respect for and fear of the Company since they had become acquainted with the fact that the ruler of Mataram had murdered its ambassadors and remained unpunished.

[1] This fort is still in existence, although abandoned. The masonry work is still substantial and intact. It is difficult to believe that it once stood on the ocean's edge, for now several miles of fertile land, covered by vegetation, separate it from the water. Volcanic action and the sediment-loaded waters of the swift mountain rivers of Java were the causes.

A crisis arose after the death of the Soesoehoenan, when his son Soenan Mas, an enemy of the Company, became his successor. A brother of the deceased, Pakoe Boewana, a friend of the Hollanders, requested the help of the Company. This was granted, and in 1705 the Dutch troops, under de Wilde, left Samarang where they had been concentrated, and shortly afterward, when they had defeated the native troops at Salatiga, entered Kartasura and placed Pakoe Boewana on the throne as Soesoehoenan of Java. The Company, of course, did not fail to harvest the necessary benefits of this feat of arms. Soenan Mas found a friend and ally in the former slave Soerapati, but two expeditions put an end to their rule. The former was made a prisoner and banished to Ceylon and the latter died of the wounds which he received in battle.

It must be confessed that the Company, or rather the "Edele Heeren" (noble gentlemen), who directed the affairs of this ever-growing commercial octopus, were not very delicate in selecting the means by which their enemies were put out of the way. At any rate the lives of these unfortunates generally had rather sudden and tragic ends.[1] A quick thrust of a kriss (dagger) in the hand of a hireling was sometimes the means of solving the difficulty.

The Company's monopoly, originally a trade monopoly, soon extended both in scope and character.

[1] See *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders op Java*, by M. L. van Deventer, Vol. II, pp. 55, 57, and 61.

Before long the Sultan of Bantam was obliged to agree that all the produce raised in his territory, such as pepper, indigo, etc., should be sent exclusively to Batavia. The Soesoehoenan of Mataram was obliged to give the same order to his chiefs. The latter agreed in writing, and under his seal, that he would deliver to the Company's agents, at a fixed price, all the products of his countryside which he could force his subjects to raise and produce, such as cotton, fibers, indigo, pepper, hides, sulphur, etc.

The Company, however, was not satisfied with the methods of production. It introduced from Coromandel indigo-makers who knew the art of extracting the maximum of this valuable dyestuff, and soon also imported *Coffea Arabica* trees. Pepper culture, which had suffered very much in the Sultanate of Bantam on account of the constant civil warfare, was again encouraged, and with such good results that, in 1710, 2,200,000 pounds were exported.

The sugar industry was likewise fostered, especially in the neighborhood of Batavia. In 1710 there were 130 sugar mills in that province alone, and the manufactured sugar was sold at a profit of 100 per cent to Japan and Persia. The Chinese were especially active in this industry, and became the sugar lords of Java during that period.

So far the Company had dealt almost exclusively with the native chiefs, but it soon became apparent that the latter did not pay the wages due to the native laborers, whenever there was the slightest

opportunity of avoiding it. The Company, therefore, assumed a third character besides those of political overlordship and sole trader. It now became private landlord, either by direction or indirection, and from that period dates the ever-growing interest the Company's officials took in the native small farmers.

Its officers encouraged the native population to plant the produce which it desired for its trade. It still dealt largely with the native chiefs, even in those regions which were under direct supervision of the Company, and through its younger officials it exercised a control over these chiefs. This control was especially aimed at the payments made for labor. While the Company endeavored to obtain the produce at a low rate, it was not willing to see the small wages which should have been paid to the farmers and tenants stolen by the chiefs. This may not have been pure philanthropy; it may have been the coincidence of interests. Whatever the cause, the Company soon came to the conclusion that its own officials must control this phase of the economic condition, and from that period also dates the beginning of the protective guardianship which the Company exercised over the native dessaman as against their chiefs. This guardianship was progressively improved and flourishes today all through Insulinde.

It cannot be said, however, that a reading of the annals of Java during the first half of the seventeenth century is a very refreshing exercise. Occidental

greed, linked with the barbarism of the Middle Ages and the religious bigotry of later days, was at grips with Oriental duplicity and cruelty. The Company already showed signs of deterioration within itself.

No new governor generals had been sent from the Netherlands for several years, but men were promoted to this post who had spent the greater part of their lives in the tropics, employed by the Company. Their moral fiber was much weakened. Unheard-of excesses and dissipations had taken place in the Company's strongholds, unnerving the virile power of its servants. Nepotism was rife in the mother country as well as in the Indies. Good-for-nothing younger sons, who were a disgrace to their families, were being sent from the Netherlands to the Colonies with strong letters of recommendation, and the officials there were obliged to give these worthless wanderers good berths.

On the other hand, the officials in the Indies were unceasingly at loggerheads with one another, and quarrels and bickerings took place daily, even in the highest councils. Vituperation, plots, and counterplots were freely indulged in. A governor general coming from these surroundings could hardly be expected to keep himself above the currents and cross-currents of the local Batavian politics, and consequently was drowned in the maelstrom of political passions, which very often ended in a political and moral cesspool.

The rulers of Batavia became tainted by their Oriental surroundings, and did not scorn to use Oriental means to dispose of their enemies. Degeneration is forever the mother of fear, for courage can find a habitat only in healthy bodies and vigorous spirits. Since the rulers of Batavia had disposed of many enemies by treaties, by conquests, and even by the dagger, fear now entered their deliberations, fear as to the possibility of uprisings among the Chinese. A rough census taken in February, 1720, drew attention to the fact that there were about one hundred thousand Chinese in Java. A great many were prominent merchants operating businesses in the cities, or small mercantile establishments, roadside inns, and the like, outside of Batavia. Furthermore, they dominated the sugar trade. But what was especially obnoxious in the eyes of the Company was the fact that the Chinese, in the outlying posts, traded in the very articles for which the Company had obtained a monopoly from the native rulers. It was next to impossible to stop this contraband trade, and it continued to the great detriment of the Company's affairs.

Every Chinese junk brought over a hundred or more fresh Chinese to Java, and the Company, now thoroughly alarmed, began to promulgate ordinances for the purpose of curbing the anticipated danger. One of these ordinances prohibited the Chinese from operating roadside inns or *warongs*. Others prohibited their roaming at will over the

countryside when out of work. Those who had no steady employment were ordered to report to the Batavia authorities, and they were then deported to Ceylon, Banda, the Cape of Good Hope, or to other places where their labor was required, and where they were practically slaves.

In the enforcement of these ordinances the Company acted with the greatest barbarism. Chinese tramps, some of whom were made tramps by the measures introduced, were taken by the Company's officers and put to torture. Very often they were impaled by the roadside, and left to die slowly under the most abhorrent conditions. Governor General Valkenier and his successor, Van Imhoff, were both guilty, if not by commission at least by omission, of these outrages against humanity.

Finally the Chinese, totally exasperated, banded together and decided on armed rebellion. The officials of the Company continued their internal bickerings, on the one hand, and their shameful cruelty against the unfortunate Chinese, on the other. As a result the latter arose in 1740 and made a determined attack on Batavia, investing the place and storming some of its forts.

Although the Chinese within the city may have sympathized with their brethren outside the gates, still there was nothing to show their guilt. Fear, however, that they might also arise, took possession of the Company's soldiers, the natives and the scum which always congregates in Oriental harbors. They

marched on the Chinese quarter of the city and began sacking and killing. When the Chinese army outside again made a desperate assault on the fortification, it was realized that a revolt of the Chinese quartered within would sound the death-knell of the white inhabitants and natives alike. The rabble consequently, aroused to a frenzy, again attacked the Chinese Quarter. It must be admitted to the everlasting shame of the officers in charge that they either encouraged or stood by when the most cruel murders were committed on the Chinese inhabitants of Batavia. This continued from the ninth of October to the twelfth, and hardly a Chinese remained alive within the inclosure of the city limits. More than ten thousand defenseless men, women, and children were slain—victims of the excesses of the rabble and of the weaknesses of a government divided against itself.

The Chinese outside of the city were finally beaten back, but they now marched on Kartasura, plundering as they went, and soon a treaty was agreed upon between the Chinese military leaders and the ruler of Mataram, against the Company. Several other sultans and nobles of Java now raised the flag of rebellion, and a holy war was declared over all Java against the Dutch invaders. The only ally who remained true to the Netherlands East Indian Company was Tjahraningrat, Prince of Madura.

For a while it looked as if the days of the Dutch Company in Insulinde were numbered. Finally the

chances of war turned in its favor, and the enemies were defeated. The Soesoehoenan submitted again to Batavia, begging the Company's pardon. To show that he had entirely broken with the past, in a childish way he moved his court from Kartasura to a new location, which he called Surakarta, and again he confirmed the Company in its extensive trade rights.

Van Imhoff had succeeded Valkenier as governor general, and no matter what his prior sins of commission and omission may have been, when this war ended in 1745 he showed himself to be a capable administrator. He made an extended trip over Java viewing with his own eyes its possibilities. He practically separated Mataram from the coast, and abolished all interior tolls, permitting only tolls at the mouths of rivers. He started a remedial bank at Batavia, founded a school of navigation, and a special court of justice for merchants, where the Law Merchant should be applied. He even went so far as to send ships directly to Mexico and California for the purpose of obtaining gold and silver with which to relieve the dearth of ready cash in the Indies.

He furthermore encouraged the trade, commerce, and navigation of the so-called "free citizens" of Batavia, that is those who were not connected with the Company, although they still were required to have a license from this great commercial organization which held the right of monopoly. He likewise regulated the opium trade by founding the Amfioen

Society, and was the first governor general who brought to a practical conclusion the long contemplated plan to colonize Java with Dutch farmers. For that purpose he granted concessions, and himself set a good example by accepting the concession of Buitenzorg, which he developed into a fine landed estate. Farms of 250 acres were given to free citizens of Batavia, and from 1744 to 1750 many Dutch peasants were brought to Java. They were located in the Preanger, especially around Tjipanas, and also Bandong, which is now a thriving city. Horses and cattle were imported from the Netherlands.

Van Imhoff did everything possible to eliminate the fatal consequences of the Chinese rebellion and war. For the purpose of accomplishing this he made a trip through the highlands back of Batavia, where the ravages of war had been the worst, and liberally distributed carabaos for plowing, seeds for planting, etc.

In the meantime, while in those countrysides directly under the supervision of the Company prosperity returned, at the court of Mataram the usual program of plots, poisoning, murder, rebellion, and civil wars had gone on. Whenever one of the rulers died, either from natural causes or by violence, several pretenders to the throne at once raised a standard of rebellion against the rightful heir, and the countrysides were devastated. The Company, to whose interest it was to maintain peace and thereby make the raising of produce possible, had to

send troops to put down the new rebellion, this time fostered by Mas Said, a new rebel among the Mataram princes.

It must not be thought, however, that the Company's troops were always victorious, for many a time their treacherous allies would lead them into traps, from which they could extract themselves only after very heavy losses. There was such an occurrence on December 12, 1751, when Mas Said and his ally Mangkoe Boemi succeeded in practically annihilating the Company's forces.

Unfortunately, just about that time the Company was drawn into another internal war in the Sultanate of Bantam. As it had obtained most of its pepper from Bantam and the Lampong districts in Sumatra, this supply was cut off. The Lampong districts joined the rebellion, and Batavia was once more threatened. New reinforcements arrived from the Netherlands; dissension among the native rulers had again the usual consequences, and in 1752 the Company was once more victorious.

In 1755 the kingdom of Mataram was split into two sultanates, which, with some modifications, correspond with the present sultanates of Djokjakarta and Surakarta.[1]

[1] For those who desire to pursue the subject in detail the following works are recommended: P. J. Veth, *Java, Geographical, Ethnological, and Historical;* J. Chailley Bert, *Jave et ses habitants;* Sir Stamford Raffles, *History of Java,* London, 1820; E. R. Scidmore, *Java, the Garden of the East,* New York, 1898; M. L. van Deventer, *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders op Java.*

After several centuries of arson, strife, and bloodshed, Java finally came to rest. Peace reigned over this fertile island, even though it was a peace of exhaustion. Although this peace was several times disturbed before the end of the century, still the disturbances, compared with the former wars, were of minor importance. Slowly but surely the country began to recover from the effects of its former political disorder, and in the third quarter of the eighteenth century great improvements were inaugurated.

A *Landraad* (court of justice) was established at Samarang, and one at Surabaya. The native regents were not allowed to exercise judiciary powers, except in very minor cases. The more important cases must be brought before these courts of justice.

The power of the regents was curbed in other ways. In the first place their authority was made uniform, and no sub-overlord was recognized between them and the Company. A determined effort was made against the oppression of the common dessaman. This was extremely difficult, for at least one-eighth of the population belonged to the noble classes, and therefore lived on their fellowmen without doing any work. The regents were prohibited from entering into correspondence with other regents. All correspondence had to flow through the Company's residents, and combinations for new rebellion were in that way curbed.

The monentary system was made uniform, and values were fixed. Sugar and coffee culture was ex-

tended; and extraordinary care was taken to see that the wages were really paid to the dessamen, and not pocketed by the regents or smaller native rulers.

All these unifications were a great benefit to the population, but while the succeeding governors general, among whom were some men of high character, enforced these improvements among the natives, the Company's own household steadily deteriorated. The principal reason was the decline in the moral stamina of the servants. As they grew in individual wealth, many abuses entered the body politic of the Company. Slowly, but surely, the moral fiber of its officials and employees weakened. Little had been done for tuition or education, and that little which had been done was generally of a severely sectarian nature.

Christianity had made no headway, for, while the Catholic missionaries mixed freely and on a common plane with the people in the Philippines, and while in early centuries the Mohammedan zealots had acquired great influence with the Javanese-Hindu population by living among them and extending personal assistance, the reverend Dutch gentlemen of the stern Reformed Church held themselves in dignified aloofness. Where Christians to any marked number were found, the credit was due entirely to the Portuguese missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant.

The population of Batavia had gradually diminished. At the end of the century it had dwindled to

12,000, of which 2,000 were Christians, 700 Mohammedans of foreign origin, and 9,000 slaves, while the balance were Europeans, of whom the Hollanders made up the minority. Hygienic conditions had become unspeakable in Batavia, as well as in the other cities, and the Company lacked strength to put its own household in order.

In 1770 there was an uprising in the corner of East Java, which, with the assistance of other eastern rulers was put down by the Company in 1778. The Sultan of Bantam finally and definitely recognized the Company as his overlord, and with his recognition went the suzerainty over the west coast of Borneo. Soon after this, however, the Netherlands power in these Colonies became less and less vigorous, for, strange to say, as the condition of the people in general constantly improved through the wise ministrations of the Company, this huge organization itself grew weaker and more inefficient. Even the directors winked at the dishonesty of their employees, who all had gone to the Colonies "to get rich quick." The Company sent out a succession of governors general, some of whom were high-minded men of irreproachable character; but others could not withstand the temptation of making secret profits. Into the caliber of the members of the Council of the Indies, who were supposed to assist the governor, also crept a gradual degeneration. Illicit profits, the tempter of so many government officials, put in their deadly work; and finally the Netherlands

East Indian Company fell by its own decay from within, and the property was turned over to the state.

The mother country became involved in European wars, and was forced to side with France against England, and when peace was concluded, in 1783, the Hollanders had to admit England to free trade throughout the East Indies. This concession was considered a complete defeat in those times, for the notion then prevailed that the mother country should have a monopoly of the colonies' trade.

While the Company, during its years of existence, had done pioneer work the quality of which will be forever a monument to the foresight and sagacity of its leaders, toward the end of the eighteenth century it was considered against the trend of the times to have a private company hold sway over distant territories as sovereign. In 1791, therefore, a committee from the Netherlands was sent to the Indies for the purpose of ascertaining how a transfer could be made of all the rights and possessions of the Company, and when, in 1798, the Batavian Republic accepted the conclusions of the committee, the Company went out of existence, the stockholders receiving only a very meager remuneration. The French revolutionary forces had invaded the mother country, and the Batavian Republic was born. A new war broke out with England, and as a result the Hollanders, or, as they were then called, the Batavians, lost the greater part of their colonies in the Indies to the English. By the treaty of peace

concluded at Amiens these colonies were restored to the Batavian Republic.

In the year 1800 the Batavian Republic installed a new department of government known as the Asiatic Council. This Council finally took full charge on behalf of the state of all the affairs of the colonies.

In 1810 Holland was forced under the yoke of Napoleon, and inasmuch as he was at war with England and could not protect these far-away lands, they were once more lost to England in 1811.

In June of that year twelve thousand British and British Indian troops in ninety vessels, under the command of Lord Minto and Sir Stamford Raffles, left the British colonies and sailed for Java. They landed near Batavia, and in the ensuing battle four thousand of the Dutch soldiers were killed and five thousand made prisoners. Java fell under the dominion of the British. Lord Minto sailed away, but left Sir Raffles behind as lieutenant-governor general.

Raffles held this office in Java for four years, and his tenure was beneficial, for he introduced many needed improvements in the administration of the affairs of the islands. He was succeeded by John Fendall, who held office for a comparatively short time, but in 1816, after the fall of Napoleon, and in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Vienna, he carried out the retrocession of the colonies to the government of the Netherlands. From that date until today, Insulinde has been an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands—"Tropical Holland" indeed.

Let it not be imagined that, when this transfer of the property, rights, and prerogatives of the Company was made to the Batavian Republic, the colonies were a picture of homogeneous national existence. To the contrary, save and except where the Company had obtained immediate and direct supervisory powers, the different rulers and peoples of the tribes that inhabited the archipelago were as far from harmonious as ever, and had made only comparatively little advancement in civilization.

In Java the old town of Batavia had been improved so that it more or less resembled a small town of the Middle Ages in Holland. Canals had been dug, and a new city hall had been erected (1710) along the architectural lines of many buildings in the Netherlands. This is still a fine old building with teak staircases and underground dungeons. It is well worth visiting. The city was surrounded by ramparts, pierced by great gates. As the safety of the place had increased, due to the control and direct supervision of the Company, the town had gradually extended to take in several suburban villages which had been newly founded, among them Weltevreden, built under the régime of Governor General Daendels. These, in accordance with the old Dutch ways, were connected by a canal, which is still in existence. The death-rate, which had been great in old Batavia, especially among the soldiers and sailors, was very greatly decreased when the old fort was moved to Weltevreden.

Furthermore, under the direction of Governor General Van Imhoff (1750), the summer seat of Buitenzorg had been established, where at present is to be found the summer palace of the governor general and the famous botanical gardens. This place, forty miles inland, has an elevation of about one thousand feet and boasts an excellent climate.

By this time trading-posts and forts had been established on the various islands; rights had been obtained by treaty and conquest; the cultivation of crops had been encouraged wherever and whenever it suited the policies of the Company, but for the material and ethical advancement of the population little had been done, in fact as little as was being done by the ruling classes all over Europe for those less fortunately situated than themselves, whether living at home or abroad.

When one compares the lot of these natives, even as described by severe critics, with that of the Englishmen and Frenchmen of the latter part of the eighteenth century, as Dickens describes it in his *Tale of Two Cities*, one is inclined to believe that the little brown brethren fared better than the white man of the submerged classes in Europe. This was partly due of course to the climate and soil which made the wants of the people simple and easily supplied.

But while there was order and progress in Java proper, the sultans and chiefs of the outlying districts were still Oriental potentates, disposing of the life, death, and daughters of their people as their whims

dictated. Occasionally they indulged in piracy and highway robbery; in fact, these countries were in the same general stage of development as Europe was in the eighth and ninth centuries. A very great part of the islands had never been explored. The interior of Borneo and large parts of Celebes and Sumatra were unknown to the white man.

A certain advancement had been made during the Company's rule of two hundred years. Order had been enforced in a large portion of the islands over which the Company held sway, and considerable parts of the population had been taught industry and thrift, where only Oriental laziness and shiftlessness prevailed before. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century the cultivation of coffee had been introduced into Java from Mocha by the Hollanders. The first very small shipment was made from Batavia to Amsterdam in 1706. The second shipment, large enough to be sold at public auction, arrived in Amsterdam in 1711. The price was so satisfactory that the Company soon extended the culture by entering into contracts with the native chieftains for the growth and sale of coffee. Soon it spread over the whole of Java, and later, under Daendels and his successors, coffee-culture was introduced in the other islands.

In many ways thrift and industry had been encouraged, but the progress achieved in the two hundred years of rule was far outdistanced by the progress of the following century.

CHAPTER VIII. THE EQUITABLE TITLE OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY TO HER COLONIES

Netherlands chain of title—Not title of discovery—Claim of conquest—Concessions—"World-consciences"—Credit due to Netherlands—Comparison with other colonizing powers—Increase of native population—Land held for natives—Evolution of natives—Ready-made civilization not forced upon them—Government not to be judged by ethical standards of today—Criticism of J. W. B. Money—A. R. Wallace—Quotations—Cultivation system discussed by Douwes Dekker—*Max Havelaar*—Awakened responsibility—Arthur S. Walcott—Hon. Donald MacLain Campbell

THE EQUITABLE TITLE OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY TO HER COLONIES

N THE foregoing chapter the chain of title which the Netherlands holds to her colonies has been, of necessity, somewhat sketchily stated. For students of political and government science who are attracted to the subject of colonial law, there is a huge storehouse of information to be found in the archives of the colonizing powers of the past and present.

Contrary to the general opinion existing in English- and Dutch-speaking countries, the archives of Spain disclose a colonial system which that country invented, developed, and applied in the past, and which, for those times, was second to none in the world. But, after all, we have proved only the legal title of the Netherlands to her colonies. In years gone by such historical-legal title was considered all-sufficient. Generally such title was acquired by discovery, conquest, or treaty, or by the combination of two or all three of these. The foundation of the Netherlands title to the East Indian Archipelago cannot be called a title by discovery, for the islands had already been "discovered" by European navigators other than those of Dutch nationality.

Furthermore, as we have already seen, the islands had been directly known for fifteen centuries to

Chinese and Hindu merchants and navigators, and indirectly to those of Alexandria, Constantinople, Italy, etc., for nearly as long as this, mostly through the products which found their way into Europe by sea and caravan routes.

The legal title is therefore based partly on the claim of conquest—conquest over Portuguese, Spanish, and English rivals,[1] and over the native rulers—and partly, though to no small degree, upon claims based on treaties and concessions obtained from the native rulers by the East Indian Company.

The vast majority of the titles were really obtained by what we may call an international "trespass, *vi et armis*," a procedure which speaks more favorably for the energy and foresight of our forefathers than for their high moral conception of international equity. But the age when a super-race was allowed to prove its superiority by force and feat of arms alone is rapidly passing out, if it has not already done so. Even formerly acquired titles are bound, in years to come, to be closely examined and scrutinized, not only by the people and races most directly affected, but also by a "world-conscience," ever growing in strength, which will demand an equitable title as well as a legal one.

[1] A great many armed English adventurers early appeared in and around Java. The history of the rivalry between the English and Dutch in the Moluccas and other parts of Insulinde, which lasted for more than a century, is not very edifying. Bad faith, cruelty, and treachery are repeatedly charged on both sides, and probably justly so.

Neither this world-conscience nor the races affected will countenance the exploitation of a weaker nation by a stronger one, but will demand with increasing insistence the recognition of the principle: with great rights great obligations are inseparably interwoven. In other words, the enlightened opinion of the Western World demands that assistance be given to the economical, industrial, political, and ethical evolution of the subject-race. Historical titles will be subjected to the acid test of modern moral requirements for governments.

The history of the government of the different races and tribes in the East Indian Archipelago by the Netherlands contains several elements which stand forth to her everlasting credit. Foremost among these is the fact that neither the civilized, half-civilized, nor savage races and tribes have been exterminated, or even diminished in population. On the contrary, the population has steadily increased in numbers, and the evolution toward better conditions has been as steady and as uninterrupted as conditions would reasonably allow.

While the history of the contact of the white man with the red, yellow, or brown man is generally the history of a tragedy, while the children of the soil, for one reason or another, have been deprived of their patrimony, and have been driven from the homes and hunting-places of their fathers, or have suffered terribly from certain fruits of civilization, thrust on them by the white men, such as whiskey, gin, opium,

consumption, and venereal diseases, no such blot rests on the escutcheon of the Netherlands. Truly, in these islands, the white man's empire was not built by the tears and blood of the children of the soil.

A second element which sheds almost equal luster on this colonial policy is the fact that the natives have not been deprived of the title to the land. The fact is, a great part of the land is owned by the natives in fee simple absolute. Other parts are owned by them in community, or otherwise under the different laws of their own land tenure, while the so-called government lands—lands which formerly made part of the wilderness and which may be compared with the public domain of the United States—are leased to the white men under strict governmental regulations. Comparatively few European estates, formerly acquired, can be conveyed in fee simple by grantor to grantee.[1] The preservation of the soil for the natives is one of the chief objects of this colonial policy. The agricultural advancement of the country is, moreover, assured by long lease contracts, made by the government, of such lands as are not needed by the natives for agricultural or grazing purposes.[2]

As a third element, which is eloquent of the wisdom of the government, we may mention the fact that they have not endeavored to force on an Oriental country a ready-made Western civilization, largely, if not wholly, unfit for any Oriental people. It was

[1] J. M. Brown, *The Dutch East Indies*, p. 102.

[2] *Official Yearbook of the Netherlands East Indies, 1920*, p. 255.

never forgotten that a civilization which took centuries to evolve, and for which the white man bled on a thousand battle fields, could not be fitted like a ready-to-wear garment to Oriental conditions. The Dutch, with that tolerance for which they have been famous throughout the ages, allowed these peoples to follow the necessary progress of evolution, along their own lines, often assisting and accelerating the progress, and guiding it along wise channels, but not trying to force their own civilization on a people whom it would very likely make most unhappy.

Let it be understood that it is not claimed that in the past no injustices have been practiced which affected one or more individuals, sometimes a whole village. Nor is it claimed that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when much horrifying brutality, both by the governors and the governed, was displayed in Europe, no brutality was exercised in equal degree in the Indies. How could it be different during an age when more than one hundred criminal offenses met with capital punishment in Old England, when witches were burned in Salem, when torturing was the legalized method of extracting incriminating evidence from guilty and innocent alike? The times were brutal, so were the people, and so was the law. One would be very credulous to believe that the Hollanders in the Indies were an exception to this rule.

But it is claimed that at those times, harsh as the white man's government may have been there, in

fact harsh as it was at home, it was far more humane than the government which was given Eastern people by their own satraps and princes. It is further claimed, without fear of successful contradiction, that through all these ages the government as a whole was and now is as good, if not a better government, than that of any nation exercising an overlordship over colonies.

When judging such government, which extends over several centuries, one must judge in the light of the particular period. One cannot judge the government administered by the Dutch East Indian Company in Java in 1650, by the ethical standards which prevail in the modern Western World of 1921, any more than one can judge the narrow, bigoted opinions of the immediate descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers by the ethical standards now prevailing in these United States. But one can demand that the government be humane and enlightened, viewed from the height which civilization had reached at the time in question. Today the Netherlands government, though far from perfect, is well abreast of the times. Military horrors, such as those that have been committed within the last two years by the servants of two other colonizing powers on unresisting civilians, would be unthinkable in colonies over which the Dutch flag flies.

What then was the character of the Netherlands colonial government in the past? Disinterested testimony is always considered, in every modern court of justice, the most desirable, the least impeachable

evidence. It may, therefore, be well to ascertain what testimony has been given by well-known observers and authors of a nationality other than Dutch, who visited the colonies.

Mr. J. W. B. Money, the English barrister of Calcutta, who visited the colonies in the earlier part of the last century, in his book, *Java and How to Manage a Colony*, came to the conclusion that "the Dutch system is the very best that can be adopted when a European nation conquers or otherwise acquires possession of a country inhabited by an industrious but semi-barbarous people."

The famous English naturalist, Alfred Russell Wallace, in his book, *The Malay Archipelago*, a book which was dedicated to Charles Darwin and has seen a great number of editions, wrote, after spending the years 1861 and 1862 in the Netherlands East Indies, principally in Java, Borneo, and Celebes:

> I must heartily concur in Money's conclusions. In my account of northern Celebes I shall show how successfully the same system has been applied to people in a very different state of civilization from the Javanese.[1]

After carefully reviewing the whole situation, Wallace comes to this conclusion:

> It is universally admitted that, when a country increases rapidly in population, the people cannot be oppressed or badly governed. In 1826 the population by census in Java was 5,500,000, while in 1800 it was estimated at 3,500,000. In 1850 the population had increased to 9,500,000, or an increase of 73 per cent in twenty-four years. In 1865 it

[1] See Wallace, tenth edition, pp. 73 ff.

amounted to 14,168,416, an increase of nearly 50 per cent in fifteen years, a rate which would double the population in about twenty-six years.

Had Wallace lived long enough he could have stated that this population had increased in 1879 to nineteen million, in 1894 to twenty-five million, and in 1917 to 34,157,383.[1]

Speaking of Celebes, he says:

In moral and mental character, the inhabitants of Minahassa (as this part of Celebes is called) are remarkably kind and gentle, submissive to those they consider their superiors and ready to adopt the habits of civilized people.

Up to a very recent period, these people were thoroughly savage, and there are persons now left in Menado (July, 1857), who remember a state of things identical with that described of savages of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The inhabitants of the several villages were distinct tribes, each under its own chief, speaking languages unintelligible to one another, and almost always at war. They built their houses elevated on lofty posts, to defend themselves from the attacks of their enemies. They were head hunters like the Dayaks of Borneo, and were sometimes said to be cannibals. Human skulls were the great ornaments of the chief, strips of bark were their only dress. The country was partly wilderness, and the religion was that naturally engendered in the undeveloped human mind by the contemplation of grand natural phenomena. They held wild and exciting festivals to propitiate their deities and demons. Here we have a picture of thorough savages, with no desire for physical amelioration, and no prospect of moral advancement.

Such was their condition in the year 1822, when the coffee plant was first introduced and experiments were made as to its cultivation.

[1] See *Official Yearbook of the Netherlands East Indies, 1920.*

After a time roads were made from the port of Menado up to the plateau, and smaller paths were cleared from village to village. Missionaries settled in the more populated districts and opened schools. The country was divided into districts, and the system of controllers, which had worked so well in Java, was introduced. Disputes arising between adjacent villages were now settled by appeal to superior authorities. The old and semi-fortified houses were disused, and under the direction of controllers, most of the houses were rebuilt on a neat and uniform plan.[1]

Speaking of the cultivation system, Wallace remarks:

The system introduced by the Dutch was to induce the people, through their chiefs, to give a portion of their time to the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and other valuable products at a fixed rate of wages, low indeed, but about equal to that paid in other parts of the world to laborers engaged in clearing ground for plantations. Under the government supervision the produce is sold to the people at a low fixed price. Out of the proceeds netted, a percentage goes to the chiefs, and the remainder is divided among the workmen. This surplus in good years is sometimes considerable.

On the whole the people are well fed and decently clothed, and have acquired habits of steady industry and the habit of scientific cultivation, which will be of service to them in the future.

It must be remembered that the government expended capital for years before any return was obtained and if they derive a large revenue it is now in a way which is far less burdensome and far more beneficial to the people than any tax that could be levied. But although the system may be as well adapted to the development of agriculture and industries in a half civilized people as it is to the material advantage of the

[1] See Wallace, pp. 192–93.

governing country, it is not pretended that in practice it is perfectly carried out.

The servile and oppressive relations between the chiefs and people, which have existed for perhaps a thousand years, cannot at once be abolished, and some evil must result from these relations, until the spirit of education causes it naturally and insensibly to disappear.

Even if there is some oppression, the results are not nearly so bad as the oppression caused by free trade of the indigo planters, or the torturing by native tax-gatherers under the British rule in India, a condition with which the readers of English newspapers were familiar a few years ago.

It may appear strange, but the most savage critic of this cultivation system, during the latter part of the last century, was a former assistant resident, Mr. Douwes Dekker, who had been discharged from the service of the Netherlands East Indian government. He wrote the famous book, *Max Havelaar, or The Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Society.* This book, translated into English and several other languages, caused a sensation. But even this virulent critic did not charge oppression to the Dutch officials. On the contrary, he attacks them with bitter abuse and sarcasm, because in his opinion they are not sufficiently active to protect the native population from the oppression exercised by their own nobles and former rulers.

For centuries the Dutch government had followed a system of conciliation, as explained in a former chapter. The servile attitude observed by Wallace (*Max Havelaar* appeared in print only a short while

before the arrival of Wallace in the Indies) was imbedded in the very consciousness of the Malay people. The government realized that the native chiefs had a power to incite their followers to rebellion against the very people who were endeavoring to ameliorate their conditions. They therefore proceeded cautiously and prudently, insisting on such improvements as the increased advancement of civilization and the consequent feeling of liberty of the individuals would justify.

Douwes Dekker, however, impatient of any restraint, burned with indignation at the subservient attitude of the natives, as well as at the grasping proclivities of their chieftains, and desired to force improvements whether they would wreck the Ship of State or not. It cannot be said that his work was in vain, for it once more aroused public opinion in the Netherlands to the great obligations which the government and its officials owed to these vast numbers of natives, whom historical fate had placed in their keeping, and today it is generally recognized that, destructive as the criticism of Douwes Dekker may have been at the time it was rendered, the mellowing influence of time has made it in many instances a constructive criticism.

But to return to the opinion of foreign observers. The American traveler, Arthur S. Walcott,[1] realizes the tremendous difficulties under which the colonial government is laboring, and does not hesitate to

[1] See *Java and Her Neighbors*, 1914.

criticize the Dutch colonial government whenever he deems it necessary.

Of the Malays in general he says:

Of the personal characteristics of the Malays of Menangkabau, as in fact of all Malays wherever found, there is little good to be said. They are brave after the manner of fanatics, but vicious and underhanded, hard-working through necessity rather than choice, and with no ambition as a rule to add to their fund of knowledge, or to improve their characters. Beyond the necessities and the simplest creature comforts, there is nothing with which the Malay is familiar to tempt him to extraordinary exertions or to call forth his best abilities.[1]

Again, speaking of the inhabitants of the island of Nias, the largest island on the west coast of Sumatra, he states:

It is inhabited by about a quarter of a million natives of a low grade of intelligence, for the most part fishermen or agriculturists, who worship the phallic emblem and various hideous household gods, and live in constant fear of evil spirits. In the interior districts they are said, even at the present day, to bury their chiefs with rites involving human sacrifice, to kill twins, to be afraid of albinos, and to adorn family habitations with the skulls of their enemies. They are filthy in personal habits.[2]

Speaking of the Achinese, with whom the Netherlands colonial government has so much trouble, this writer says:

The inhabitants of this northern end of Sumatra are probably the worst of all the natives of the islands in Insulinde, with the exception of the savages of New Guinea and other absolutely untutored, uncivilized, wild men. In these Achinese

[1] See *Java and Her Neighbors*, 1914, p. 327. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 331.

every oriental vice seems abnormally overdeveloped, and every occidental virtue conspicuously lacking. . . . . Those in the best position to judge are practically unanimous in characterizing the highland Achinese as unscrupulous, fanatic, warlike brigands, and those of the coast as vicious, servile, treacherous thieves.[1]

Of the half-breed Portuguese natives, found in the Moluccas, Walcott writes:

These half castes are, curiously enough, darker as a rule than the natives of full blood. They scorn the native costume and go about in black clothes of quasi-European cut. On festival occasions they blossom out in swallow-tails or frock-coats and high hats of ancient vintage. These people are Christians and Protestants, and they seem to have the usual vices of native Christians, drunkenness in particular. They are also lazy, bumptious, and inquisitive, like most natives who have been taught that all men are equal and brothers. The Mahometans impressed us as a far more worthy and less hypocritical lot, and more satisfactory to deal with.[2]

In the last two pages of his work (pp. 338–39) he writes:

Our wanderings in the Insulinde were all over too soon. In fifteen weeks of travel in the Dutch possessions we met with unfailing courtesy and kindness at the hands of all the Hollanders with whom we came in contact by chance or introduction, and in their wonderful island colony we enjoyed a succession of delightful surprises and pleasurable experiences such as I hardly think could be duplicated in any other part of the world. I know of no other regions of more lovely and more varied scenery, and of no lands where so much that is strange and unusual may be seen at so little risk and with so little discomfort.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 336. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

The Honorable Donald MacLain Campbell, in his famous book, *Java*, writes most sympathetically about the colonial government. He lived for twenty-three years in Java, where besides being a merchant he was British Vice-Consul. He writes:

> The final and signal success with which the Dutch have managed and administered these colonies which fell to them is to the credit of that great nation, with its glorious past in Europe.

All foreign observers seem to agree that the difficulties which the Netherlands administration had to overcome were prodigious, largely due to the polyglot and shiftless nature of Insulinde's population. But why continue quoting these foreign observers? For while such quotations which could be multiplied almost indefinitely may prove conclusively that the mother country had a good equitable title to its colonies at the time these observers sojourned in Insulinde, such title must be progressively strengthened or it deteriorates.

In the following chapters of this essay proof will be found that the moral title of the Netherlands to Insulinde, is today even greater than it was in years gone by, and that it promises to become continuously stronger.

CHAPTER IX. INSULINDE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Treaty of Vienna—Europe after the Napoleonic wars—Netherlands' specific ills—Rebellion in 1830—Separation in 1830 of northern and southern provinces—King refuses separation until 1838—Money for wars expected to come from colonies—Insulinde's unsound condition—Raffles abolished forced labor; introduced reasonable land rents—Body politic ill—Daendels tried to make colonies pay—Sultan of Bantam removed from throne—Sultan of Djokjakarta also banished—Road built across Java—Dutch troops suffered defeat by English—Guerilla war with natives—Depo Negoro raised Islam standard—Captured by General de Koch—Forced cultivation introduced—Increased wealth—System defended by Money and Wallace—Condemned by Douwes Dekker—Reasons for introduction—State supreme sovereign—Natives to plant one-fifth of land for government—Governor van den Bosch—Abuse of system—Suffering of natives—System abolished 1870—Expansion of private enterprise—War of Atjeh—Overlordship of Netherlands—Expeditions into outlying possessions—Colonial administration second to none

INSULINDE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AFTER the Treaty of Vienna and the withdrawal of the British officials, the Kingdom of the Netherlands was in undisputed possession of the archipelago, with the exception of a few minor British claims. That is, in undisputed possession as far as other colonizing powers were concerned. Several of the native sultans considered themselves, especially in the islands other than Java and Madura, vassals of the Netherlands in name only, if at all.

Very much, therefore, had yet to be accomplished before the authority of the mother country could be considered consolidated throughout her colonies. And in the meantime Europe was sick, very sick indeed, in fact almost as ill as she is at the present time.[1] The great Napoleonic wars, with all their waste of human blood and national resources, had only just come to a close. Europe had gone through a welter of misery for thirty years, though it may be stated again that in these thirty years no such damage had been done, no such ruin had been accomplished, as in the four years of the Great War. Neither were the consequences so dire, so widespread.

Europe was financially and morally bankrupt for the time being. The old school of diplomacy was again at its former tricks, jockeying for position,

[1] The year 1921.

disregarding former friends and foes alike, and taking advantage of all.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands, besides suffering from the general ills of Europe, had specific troubles of its own. After centuries of a republican form of government it had become a constitutional monarchy. The southern provinces (the present kingdom of Belgium), long under the domain first of Spain and afterward of Austria, had been joined to the domain of the former Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. It was an unfortunate endeavor to blend two races, which were radically different, into one harmonious whole. It could bring only dissatisfaction and unhappiness to both. The people of the northern provinces were for the most part ardent Protestants, while the majority of the people of the southern provinces were devout Catholics. The northerners had an ingrained feeling for political and personal liberty; the southerners had held quite different views for several centuries.

A combination of the two countries could not be permanent, and before long mutterings were heard, especially in the south, asking for a separation. Finally in 1830 an open rebellion broke out. Belgium called in the assistance of the French king. A French army invaded the southern Netherlands and in a pitched battle at Brussels the Netherlands troups were defeated. They retreated to Antwerp, which was soon invaded by the French and Belgium troops. It was here that Van Speyk, in command of a Dutch

man-o'-war, blew up his ship with all on board rather than surrender. The Netherlands commander at Antwerp was compelled to surrender, and in 1832 the separation was completed of two countries which should never have been united. But William, King of the Netherlands, was stubborn, and refused to acknowledge the accomplished fact, with the result that the Netherlands maintained for a long time an unnecessary and expensive standing army. At last, in 1838, the separation was officially accepted by the king's government, and the incident was finally closed.

All this had a direct bearing on the course pursued by the mother country in the colonies. The Home Government needed money badly, mostly on account of its vast military expenses, and of course looked toward the colonies to supply this, for that was generally presumed to be the sacred duty of colonies and possessions during the first half of the nineteenth century.

While Europe was sick, Insulinde could by no means be said to enjoy a healthy economic or political life. It is true that atrocities like those committed during the preceding two centuries, either by the natives on the Hollanders, or by the Hollanders on the English, natives on Chinese, or by the Chinese on the natives, or by whomsoever had the opportunity, were things of the past. For instance, at Amboina the British East Indian Company had five factories for the collection of spices. In 1622 the English

governor was one Gabriel Towerson who married a native woman of noble birth. He had under him several Englishmen and Japanese soldiers. All were accused of plotting against the Netherlands East Indian Company, which likewise had a fort and factory at Amboina. While no doubt the Hollanders believed that the English intended to give the warlike natives an opportunity to kill them, with all the horrors connected therewith, history seems to make the presumed guilt of the English very doubtful. They were tortured in the Dutch fort with the greatest barbarity and ingenuity, until they "confessed," presumably to escape further torture.

Again, in the middle of the eighteenth century there was an uprising among the Chinese inhabitants of Java, who lived there in great numbers. The latter had been treated badly by Dutch and natives alike. They marched to Kartasura, in central Java, and surprised the emporer in his *kraton* or capitol. After committing all kinds of barbarisms, the Chinese further outraged all the princesses of the court and other women, and indulged in dreadful orgies.

In 1812, when Insulinde was temporarily under English rule, the conditions in Sumatra were not very much improved. It appeared that the sultan's son, Pangéran Ratu, was a moral degenerate, whose bestiality, cruelty, and criminality were notorious. The Dutch resident who was still stationed at Palembang endeavored to put a stop to his carnival of crime. In revenge for the "insult" offered his precious

offspring, the sultan surprised the factory or fort, treacherously coming under guise of offering friendship. The small garrison was captured, placed on native rowboats, and taken to Soosang, where every one was slowly put to death after almost unbelievable cruelties. The resident's wife, who was pregnant, was thrown into the jungle to wild beasts; all the other white women were outraged and sold with their children as slaves. They were finally rescued by Colonel Gillespie of the British Expeditionary Force, who treated them with the greatest kindness.

Instances like these could be multiplied.

Today, one can motor in safety all around Palembang, in fact all over Sumatra. The government has built and maintains magnificent auto roads, and armed police and civil servants are everywhere. Verily the Netherlands have built up a wonderful empire in Insulinde, especially wonderful when one considers conditions as indicated above.

It is likewise true that Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles introduced many improvements.[1] For instance, he abolished the forced delivery of produce *in natura*, the right to exact labor to be furnished by the native princes in lieu of taxes, or at a nominal compensation; also the tolls and imports which had benefited neither Hollanders nor natives, but mostly

[1] The Honorable Donald MacLain Campbell, once British vice-consul in Java, author of *Java, Past and Present* (London, William Heineman), calls this great Britisher most justly "a great statesman, empire-maker, administrator, and naturalist, and founder of the colony and city of Singapore."

the Chinese, many of whom already had swollen fortunes. He also introduced a system of land rent that was very reasonable, considering that the feudal system was still followed in the Orient.

But the body politic in Java and the outlying possessions was still very ill.

The famous and infamous Marshall Daendels, who was appointed governor general of the Netherlands East Indies in 1807, had pointed out a way to rule a colony, make it pay, and consolidate the government. He succeeded in constructing, at huge expense of treasure and human life, a great highway across Java, thereby reducing the journey from one end of the island to the other from forty to six days. The road begins near the village of Anjer, on the Straits of Sunda, one of the most westerly points of the island, and then runs to Banjuwangi, which is situated on the southeastern end, right opposite the island of Bali. At that time it was one of the great highways of the world, and to lay such a road, partly through the jungle, partly through virgin forests, and partly across rivers and ravines, required the genius of a very unusual man.

Daendels was a man endowed with tremendous energy and an elastic conscience. With him the end justified the means.

The highway was necessary for the purpose of securing peace in the islands. It crossed the two sultanates of Djokjakarta and Surakarta, which were the rival successors to the kingdom of Mataram.

It made possible the swift movement of armed forces from one end of the island to the other, and it likewise made possible the delivery of the much-wanted produce. At the far eastern end the fortress of Zutphen was built, which did much toward controlling the difficulties between the people of Java and those of Bali.

When the Sultan of Bantam had very justly refused to furnish any more native laborers in lieu of those who had died of fever in the unhealthy swamps where Daendels had put them to work constructing a fort (British invasion being expected), he settled the question by marching on Bantam with an armed force. Arriving at his destination he executed the "Rijksbestuurder" (native prime minister), and removed the sultan bodily from the throne, occupying it temporarily himself.

The Sultan of Djokjakarta was treated in like manner, and Daendels abolished the humiliating ceremony to which the residents were compelled to submit when meeting for the first time the particular sultan to whom they were accredited. Daendels was a tyrant in name and in fact. He inaugurated the abolition of forced deliveries of spices, but extended the forced governmental culture of coffee to a very large extent. He raised the salaries of the civil servants, but ruthlessly punished anyone who grafted on the treasury. On the other hand, he sold a few estates in fee simple absolute, thereby introducing a disturbing element in the land tenure structure. In

this he followed the example of the British Governor General Raffles.

Nevertheless government affairs were far from prosperous. For one thing the Dutch troops, formerly always victorious, in the end had been defeated by the English. This left a deep impression on the native rulers.

The first trouble took the form of a serious guerilla war, known as the Java War (1825–30). The primary cause was an effort to curb the exorbitant leasehold revenue obtained by the native princes from their tenants. Depo Negora, an illegitimate son of a former Sultan of Djokjakarta, was the ringleader, Prince Mangku Boemi, a legitimate noble, being his assistant. Depo Negora raised the Islam standard of the Holy War, and declared that he fought in the name of the Prophet. This brought almost the whole Mohammedan population to his side.

The war was waged with great bitterness on both sides, all European inhabitants, especially the British and French, siding with the Dutch rulers. Finally a large army was placed in the field under General de Kock, and Depo Negora was captured on March 28, 1830. The war had lasted five years, had cost the government fifteen thousand lives and twenty-five million dollars, and had devastated several of the central provinces, but was instrumental in consolidating the European rule in Java.

Immediately after the close of the war, the new governor general introduced the system of forced

cultivation of crops for the European markets. This became the famous, or notorious, *cultuur stelsel* (culture system).

From a material standpoint this culture system was a complete success. Notwithstanding the many abuses to which it gave rise, it not only brought the mother country the desired treasure, but it increased enormously the wealth of Java, and its population grew in numbers as well as in prosperity.

Curiously enough the system was staunchly defended by such keen foreign observers as J. W. B. Money,[1] a famous lawyer of Calcutta, who investigated the whole proposition and praised it highly. Wallace, the great naturalist, was likewise equally enthusiastic.[2] On the other hand, Douwes Dekker, a retired Netherlands East Indian functionary, in his famous book, *Multatuli*, bitterly condemns the system's abuses and its consequences. The truth, of course, lies between these laudatory and defamatory criticisms. Here are the facts:

The Netherlands government had contracted a loan for Insulinde, the principal and interest of which was guaranteed by the Home Government. The proceeds of this loan were expended for the benefit of the colonies, and the Home Government desired to devise ways and means by which the colonies could be made to provide for the interest charges and the inevitable funding expenses. The exports of Java,

[1] J. W. B. Money, *Java, or How to Manage a Colony*, 1859.

[2] A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*.

however, had diminished, and the colonies threatened to become a heavy expense to the mother country.[1]

It was useless to expect the indigenous population to better their conditions, for they had neither the capital, the energy, nor the intellectual forces necessary to engage successfully in agricultural enterprises on a large scale. Should this population be left to its own devices, it would simply continue to live under fear of its own sultans, rajahs, or headmen—so reasoned the proponents of the new system. They would raise little more than just enough rice for their own consumption, and make very little, if any, progress in social evolution.

It was therefore proposed to furnish European capital, skill, and management, not to exploit the land already under cultivation by the natives, but to use, under long leaseholds, the unoccupied lands, generally covered by virgin forests and impenetrable swamps.

The idea was also advanced that these improvements should be undertaken with freeman's labor and under no consideration would slaves be used. Slavery had not yet been abolished in Java. Unfortunately insufficient labor was forthcoming, and consequently a new system was devised which may be described as follows:

The state was sovereign in the sense that under the Oriental feudal system all land belonged to the

[1] See "Report of Du Bus de Gisignies to King William I," dated May 1, 1827, and published in Stein Parve's work, *The Colonial Monopolists System* (1851).

state as overlord. The natives using the land were not in a position to pay either cash rent or taxes. In lieu of this rent and these taxes the natives were induced to plant one-fifth of their rice lands to products to be indicated by the governmental officers. These matters were to be regulated by negotiations with the population and by contract. Governor General van den Bosch was the man who advocated this system and to whom its execution was intrusted.

But the unfortunate condition of the treasury of the mother country, on account of its Belgian troubles, made the raising of large revenues as quickly as possible an imperative necessity. Soon many evils entered the system. Instead of one-fifth of the fields a larger proportion was insisted upon. Orders to the headmen were substituted for negotiations with the population.

The people were paid for their work *in natura*, which was often salable locally only at a very low figure. Some of the products, such as indigo and sugar cane, had to undergo a manufacturing process, and the natives were ill-prepared to get the best results from their share of the product. Again, some of the coffee plantations were poorly located, and therefore brought small returns, while other fields were so far away from the villages that travel back and forth became exceedingly burdensome.

The payment *in natura*, by percentage of the crops, worked out in the following way: In case of failure the laborer received little or no remuneration, while

in case of success and high prices, the employer, that is the government, took the lion's share of the profits. In 1847 Governor General Rochussen endeavored to curb the system and its consequences. Several voices were heard in the Netherlands protesting against the abuses of the system. In 1865 the minister of the colonies, Fransen van de Putte, made a determined effort, partly successful, to abolish the system gradually. One culture after another was abandoned, and finally the law of 1870 sounded the death-knell of the whole system.

Since the abolition of the forced cultivation system, private enterprise has enormously expanded, even beyond the wildest dreams of the staunchest proponents of the institution. While in operation the forced-cultivation system has many faults, the principal one from a modern standpoint was that the human equation was subordinate to "business." The descendants of those who suffered under the sytem are now however reaping a rich harvest of the difficulties their fathers and mothers labored under—advantages they may never have known without the heroic measures applied by the system of forced cultivation.

Politically speaking the nineteenth century was a period of disturbed peace. One expedition after another had to leave Batavia to quench incipient or open revolts among the neighboring princes.

Piracy was still practiced by many of the native rulers, and it took extraordinary energy and effort to

preach the gospel of stability of good government all through Insulinde.

One of the most strenuous of these rebellions was that which broke out in 1873 in the Sultanate of Atjeh, at the extreme northern end of Sumatra. The sultan offered a curious excuse. It appears that in 1819 the Sultan of Atjeh had made a treaty with the Penang government by the direction of Sir Stamford Raffles. In 1872 the Dutch and English entered into a treaty by which the former were given a free hand in Sumatra; and England, for other considerations, withdrew all its claims as to Sumatra. The Sultan of Atjeh, however, refused to recognize this new arrangement, declared that England and not the Netherlands was his overlord, and made a hostile demonstration against the latter. The sultan's recognition of England could not be taken too seriously, for many of his subjects were lusty pirates, preying on Dutch and English commerce with equal vigor.

By a strange coincidence James Loudon was governor general of Insulinde. His father was the well-known Britisher, Alexander Loudon, who had come to Java with the British expedition in 1811.[1] It now fell to James Loudon's lot to enforce the Netherlands rights to this sultanate. It was, however, not until 1898 that the sultanate was finally pacified—that is soundly thrashed.

[1] One of the sons of James Loudon is Jonkheer Dr. John Loudon, former Minister of the Netherlands at Washington, D.C., and now acting in a like capacity in Paris. Dr. John Loudon, who is married to an American lady, was one of the most popular and respected diplomats ever accredited to the American government.

Only those who have ever watched native warfare in a tropical country will realize the tremendous difficulties under which the Netherlands troops had to labor while campaigning under the tropical sun, and among treacherous natives often intrenched in well-nigh impenetrable jungles, virgin forests, or swamps.

Numerous other expeditions had to be sent out, for instance, several to lower Sumatra, several to Bali, and so on, but finally the overlordship of the Netherlands was established throughout the archipelago. And with this overlordship came good government, peace, and prosperity. And with good government came all its agencies: a clean administration, a humane judicature, a just attitude toward the natives and whites alike, safety to persons and property, and finally great commercial and industrial prosperity.

Slowly, but surely, there was built up in these Far Eastern islands a wonderful structure of government, which today is second to no other colonial administration in the world, and superior to most, if not all of them.

It would lead us too far afield to trace the evolution of all these governmental agencies through the nineteenth century. Volumes have been written on this subject, and many more could be written. For our purpose it must suffice to give some details of the conditions existing in Insulinde of today, which are the direct result of the tireless efforts of the previous century.

CHAPTER X. INSULINDE OF TODAY

The political situation—Executive and legislative branches of government—Council of Indies—Beginning of representative form of government—People's Council—Division of Insulinde into residencies—European and native officials—Assistant residencies—Supervisional districts—Heads of divisions—The retiring governor general—Self-governing countrysides—Based on historic rights—Based on recent emancipation—European judiciary courts—Native courts—Courts of appeal—Court of cassation—Courts for civil and criminal cases—Residential court for minor cases—*Landraad*—*Landgerecht*—Ecclesiastical courts—Education—Technical University at Bandong—Native Law College—Training schools for native officials—Medical colleges—Agricultural colleges—Training schools for native instructors—Primary instruction—Difficulties of government—Need of assistance from private enterprises—Sur-school taxes necessary—Governmental activities criticized by foreigners: (*a*) Salt monopoly—(*b*) State monopoly of opium—(*c*) Insufficient instruction in modern language, especially Dutch—(*d*) Penal sanction; Governmental activities approved by whites and natives: (*a*) Administration of railroads and tramways—(*b*) Postal, telegraph, and telephone service—(*c*) Road system—(*d*) Construction and maintenance of harbors, etc.—(*e*) Foreign trade—(*f*) Mining—(*g*) Water-power and electric service—(*h*) Police system—(*i*) Prisons; Native activities: (*a*) Native banking—(*b*) Pawnshops—(*c*) Health regulations—(*d*) Agricultural information service—(*e*) Irrigation—(*f*) Civil veterinary service—(*g*) Fisheries—(*h*) Forestry

INSULINDE OF TODAY

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

HE Netherlands East Indies are a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It therefore follows that the States General in the Netherlands, elected by general suffrage, is the chief legislative body for the colonies as well as for the mother country.

The executive power in the Netherlands is vested in the crown, but the Netherlands being a strictly liberal constitutional country, the ministers of the crown, who are selected from the majority party in power, are the really responsible persons. One of these is the minister of the colonies, who is responsible to the States General for the conduct of the government in the Orient. His seat is in the Hague, where all the executive departments are located.

As the supreme executive power in the colonies is vested in the crown, the governor general rules Insulinde in the name of the queen. In him are vested also certain legislative powers, which he has exercised for years in conjunction with an advisory body of great influence and dignity. This is the Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*), composed of five members and presided over by the vice-president. Only in extraordinary cases does the governor general preside. Should the latter be absent or temporarily incapacitated, the vice-president of the council assumes all his duties.

The governor general has also a cabinet, which consists of the heads of the nine executive departments of the government, called directors, who meet together in what is known as the "Council of Department Heads."

The position of private or executive secretary to the president or governor, which is of so much importance both in Washington and the various state capitols in the United States, finds its counterpart in the office of "general secretary" at Buitenzorg.

This general secretary is really the executive secretary to the governor general. His is a post of great importance, as the incumbent is almost daily in confidential communication with his chief. Through his hands passes all the executive work. He is at the head of the executive officers immediately attached as an official family to the governor general.

During the late war, when the economic conditions of Insulinde were violently disturbed, this important position was first filled by the Honorable Jonkheer A. C. D. de Graeff, now minister of the Netherlands at Tokyo. After Mr. de Graeff had become a member of the Council of the Indies and subsequently filled the very important position of vice-president of that body, he was succeeded by the Honorable Hulshoff Pol, who also became a member of the Council of the Indies. His able successor was the Honorable G. R. Erdbrink.

Since 1916 a beginning has been made in the development of a direct representative form of

government for the whole of Insulinde. The first step taken was the institution of the "People's Council" (*Volksraad*), consisting at present of thirty-nine members. Its president is appointed by the crown; nineteen of its members (five natives, fourteen Europeans and foreign Orientals) hold office by virtue of appointment by the governor general, while the balance (ten natives and nine Europeans and foreign Orientals) are elected by local assemblies.

While the chief executive is at liberty to consult this People's Council in all important matters, he is compelled by law to consult with it on all matters appertaining to taxation, the issuance of bonds (other than those established by act of the States General), the enactment of ordinances imposing military duties, and many other subjects indicated by law or executive order. The writer had the pleasure of visiting several of the sessions of this new consultative body, which is fast developing, in fact very much faster than its originators intended, into a parliamentary assembly.

The native members, sometimes using the Netherlands tongue, and sometimes the Malay, showed a keen interest in all the proceedings, and were not slow in expressing their views and conclusions most forcibly if they deemed that the occasion demanded it.

It is a good omen for the future of this assembly, and a sign of the times that the sessions are held in the former palace of the general commander-in-chief of the army. The meeting takes place in the

ballroom of this stately mansion, where officers of the army and navy and civil functionaries used to pay their respects to the military chief. In their place one hears now the voices of the natives in authoritative tones.

This council has the power to make representation directly to the crown or to the States General, and demand in writing information of any of the departments, which information must be rendered in the same form. Its meetings are open to the public and the press, unless it desires to go into general committee.

For administrative purposes, Insulinde has subdivisions at the head of which stand Netherlands officials known as "residents," or in three cases as "governors." There are thirty-four residents. A double hierarchy of officials function, to-wit, the Europeans and the natives. Every residency or governorship is divided into two, three, or four assistant residencies. At the head of each of these stands: (1) the assistant resident, (2) the regent. The former is a trained Netherlands governmental officer. The latter is a native official, selected on account of his experience and the general position which he holds in the community. He usually belongs to the old nobility of the countryside.

Each assistant residency is divided into supervisional districts. At the head of these stand: (1) the controller, (2) the *wedana,* or other native official. The former is a junior trained official from the

Netherlands, the latter an influential native. The controllers are trained at the University of Leyden, where they follow a special course for three years, after graduating from the local high school. In addition they can take a post-graduate course of two years at the Civil Service Academy of the Hague. They are thoroughly trained in the various systems of colonial government, native language, native criminal and civil law (*adat*), political science, etc. Those who do not aspire to the highest rank, may receive their education at the Civil Service College at Batavia, where they go through a thorough training before being appointed civil administrators (*Gezaghebbers*).

The position of the European official toward the native is that of older brother and counselor. It naturally requires a great deal of tact. The native official is likewise trained in one of the colleges which are known as "Training Schools for Native Officials." Those who show particular aptitude are transferred to the Civil Service College and prepared for the higher positions. Here they are taught both the Dutch and English languages, Dutch East Indian law, political economy, and in addition attention is paid to practical matters, such as agriculture, irrigation, hygiene, etc.

The highest rank among these native officials is "Regent." These men are the true heads of the native population, have charge of the native police in the assistant residencies (except in the larger

cities where the police organization resembles the American police department, with a chief, etc.), of taxation, etc. To them are also responsible the minor native officials within the respective regencies. The office is often hereditary, in so far as this conforms to public interest. The regent is generally assisted by the *patih*, a native executive. Besides he has a council of district chiefs as an advisory and legislative body.

Where there are still original native states, semi-self-governing, the sultan stands next to the resident or governor, or in the small states, next to the assistant resident or controller.

Under the *wedana* stands the dessa head, also called *djaro* or *petinggi*. He is really the village mayor. The dessas or villages enjoy a marked autonomy. These villages regulate their own domestic affairs; they elect their own aldermen—so-called "headmen." The elections are carefully watched by the Netherlands officials to prevent any possible suppression of the village wishes.

Besides the local village councils, there are found throughout Insulinde, in one form or another, provincial and municipal councils, which consist either of natives exclusively, or of natives and Europeans combined. Ever since 1903 the legislative rights of the residents, "by ordinance" have been constantly curtailed, and this right transferred to the local and provincial councils. Cautiously but steadily the Netherlands government is progressing in its desire

to intrust the different subdivisions of Insulinde with more and more political power, freeing them from unnecessary central restraint.

An initial experiment of placing almost all the local power, under proper state supervision, of course, in the hands of the representatives of the people has been made in two places: One in the Preanger (south of Batavia), one on the island of Celebes (1918–19). It is now the plan to introduce this system in at least one "regency" or assistant residency of every residency in Java and Madura, and to continue the gradual emancipation of the population along these lines.

The old Netherlands ideal, "local self-government," was recognized from the very beginning of the contact of the Hollanders and the natives. The slogan of the town meeting was reflected in the saying "the dessa must remain inviolate." For the last twenty-five years this system has been slowly but surely extended to the districts and provinces, and eventually, when the political progress of the inhabitants warrants it, this condition will be prevalent everywhere.

A matter which must strike the observer is that there is nothing happy-go-lucky or haphazard about this colonial administration. Its servants are highly trained officials, who very slowly climb through the different ranks to the highest positions.

The system is highly scientific, its servants are all experts, and the writer must confess that never

in any other place in the world has he met with a finer or higher type of men than is found within the great body of civil servants in Insulinde. To watch them in their intercourse with the native rulers, nobility, aye, with the simplest dessaman, is to watch an attitude of firmness, dignity, simplicity, and human kindness which cannot fail to make a deep and lasting impression.

During his months of travel in the colonies, the writer did not see one act of rudeness or arrogance from any one of these men in authority. While he came into contact with many, he had special opportunity to observe the attitude of the Honorable A. J. W. Harloff, Resident of Surakarta, and the Honorable P. W. Jonquiere, Resident of Djokjakarta, when meeting the rulers of the sultanates of these same names on important occasions.

Both gentlemen were of large physique and commanding appearance, both had ample power in their hands to "command," both in fact had a well-equipped military force at their backs, both lived in residences of which the lofty apartments made one think of the salons of palaces, both showed strength and determination in all their movements, and both were simple, unassuming, and kindly toward all with whom they came in contact, including the most humble, which made a young American girl, a graduate of Wellesley College, who traveled as a trained private secretary with the writer's party, exclaim: "How splendid these men are! One would

A NETHERLANDS OFFICIAL'S VISIT TO THE SULTAN OF DJOKJA-KARTA, JAVA (JULY, 1919)

take them in their dignity and simplicity for high-grade American gentlemen." And the writer said "amen" to this remark, with the mental reservation that a "high-grade gentleman" is about the same all over the world, whether he be a Hollander, an American, or of other blood.

One warm August night in 1919 the Sultan of Surakarta invited the author and his party to visit the *kraton* (palace) and witness a ballet of native dancers. After the famous female dancers, with almost unbelievable grace and delicacy, had given their performance, two of the young princes, in gorgeous ornate court costumes, gave an exhibition of native dancing and sword play, accompanied by the weird music of the *gamalang*. One of them, a grandson of the Sultan, was called to the dais, where the sultan, the princess, his favorite wife, the resident and his guests were seated. I say "favorite" wife, for His Highness is supposed to have several, besides many hundred concubines, of whom about one hundred more or less were in evidence. The young prince approached his grandfather with the usual signs of abject respect, on his knees, salaaming, etc., but one can imagine our astonishment when the resident, addressing the prince, said in simple Dutch: "Well, sonny, how are you getting along in school? In what grade are you now?" The boy changed at once from a butterfly in barbaric Oriental splendor, to a very nice schoolboy. A smile split his face from ear to ear, and he answered in equally good Dutch,

"Fine, thank you, sir, I am in the seventh grade but arithmetic is hard, isn't it?"

It may be well to mention here that the lofty ideals of justice, humanity, and ethics of the retiring governor general, His Excellency, J. P. Count van Limburg Stirum, have had a vitalizing influence on the attitude of all right-minded Europeans toward the natives. As he retires he lays down a heavy burden, but though a prophet, he is not without honor in his own country. This high-minded gentleman was ably assisted by his charming and devoted wife, a grande dame, but, still better, a good, fine, charitable woman.

A sketch of the government administration service would not be complete, if the so-called self-governing countrysides were not mentioned. This self-government is based on historic rights, as distinguished from those self-governments which are based on recent emancipation. Among the latter's agencies, the provincial and district councils, and the municipal assemblies, besides the two experiments hereinbefore mentioned, are prominent. All the larger municipalities have their own mayor or burgomaster, their own municipal council, etc.—in one word their own self-government. They are authorized to levy municipal taxes, and all municipal activities, such as abattoirs, parks, public markets, health services, sewerage, lighting, and water systems are within their jurisdiction. There are nineteen such municipal councils in the Indies, and they all enjoy local self-government. They are quite different from the so-called historic

PRINCES OF THE HOUSE OF SURAKARTA IN NATIVE COSTUME

self-governing regions. These are the sultanates, or other principalities or political divisions, which were never incorporated under direct Dutch rule, although lately several of them have been incorporated by request of the population.

There always were independent little nations or tribes which had treaties or contracts with the central government. These treaties were constantly amended for the purpose of securing the fair development of their peoples; they prohibited slave trade, unusual and cruel punishments, piracy, etc., and as long as these conditions were lived up to, the independence of the native rulers was respected. The native rulers, however, continually violated these rules, and finally the different treaties were mostly replaced by a political contract called the "Abridged Declaration."

Throughout Insulinde there are two hundred and eighty of these self-governments, besides two major and two minor sultanates in Java.

The central government places its civil servants alongside of each of the rulers of these little countries, and they instruct these rulers in the proper administration of justice, the humane exercise of their hereditary rights and powers, etc.

The writer, while in Sumatra, visited the assistant residency of Pematang Sir Antar, which is situated between Toba Lake and Medan. He was courteously entertained one evening by the assistant resident, Mr. J. Tideman, a gentleman of broad sympathies and keen insight into native character.

Together they visited "het internaat voor Vorstenzonen" (the boarding school for young princes). These young princes, sons of minor sultans and rajahs, presuming on the position of their fathers, had been running wild and accumulating vicious habits with the usual Oriental facility. Even little fellows of ten and eleven years old were already "friendly" with the market women! These boys had been gathered together by this Dutch official and placed in the *internaat*. Here they were taught the three "R's," and, still better, hygiene and Western decency. They were a lot of bright and happy brown kiddies, who did not seem to fear at all their "political daddy"—the assistant resident. The building itself reminds one of a school building in California, erected in mission style and scrupulously clean.

Under the Dutch supervision, public treasuries have been established, as contradistinguished from the sultan's private purse, into which formerly all revenue flowed. The ruler receives a fixed salary; a yearly budget must be made up to be approved by the resident, etc.

Eventually these peculiar self-governing districts will evolve to the same position as the other self-governing political subdivisions, which means government by the people themselves, under Netherlands advice and supervision.

The judiciary.—As shown by the foregoing, the legislative and executive branches of the government, while forming in most respects two entirely different

divisions, overlap here and there. The same may be said about the judiciary branches and the executive administration of the government of Insulinde. At the head of this division stands the director of the department of justice, an official whose duties correspond to those of the attorney general of the United States.

As independent as the Supreme Court of any American state is of the governor of the state, just so independent is the high court of judicature, sitting at Batavia, of the governor general. This court is both a court of appeal and a court of cassation. In American and English courts this distinction does not exist. It does, however, wherever the Roman law is the foundation of the jurisdiction practiced. It exercises a general supervision over all the courts in Insulinde, not only by virtue of appeals from judgments or decrees, but by a direct administrative supervision.

Civil and criminal cases between or against Europeans are brought to trial in the first instance before six courts, of which three have their principal seats in the island of Java, two in the island of Sumatra, and one in the island of Celebes. Each of these courts has several judges.

These courts correspond to the Superior Courts in most of the states of the Union, but to the Supreme Courts in New York.

Furthermore, in every residency there is a court which one may compare with the justice's court in

all English-speaking countries. This court is called the residential court, and minor matters between or against Europeans are adjudicated there.

The courts where natives are tried for severe offenses, or where they have their differences adjusted, are called *Landraad*. They correspond with the old courts "de pied poudre" of the common law. These courts are presided over by a white official. In Java and Madura he is a trained jurist who is a judicial officer, but in many other parts of Insulinde, they are presided over by the controller or other civil servant belonging to the administrative branch of the government. All the members of the court are native nobles or officials, some holding office by virtue of their position, others by appointment of the governor general.

Another member of the court is the native legal adviser who is versed in the customary law (*adat*), and gives opinions to the other members in conformity therewith. Finally, the public prosecutor is a native known as the *Djaksa*. In him are combined the offices of sheriff and district attorney.

There are a great number of courts called *Landgerecht* with a jurisdiction somewhat similar to that of the police courts in the United States and other English-speaking countries. Here the minor offenses of natives are tried. From the judgments of some of these minor courts one can appeal, others are final, but all the officials are compelled to make entry of all adjudgments in special registers, and such

entry must contain, among other things, the fines or punishments imposed. At any time the high court of justice at Batavia may investigate these records.

The minor civil cases between natives are heard before a native tribunal of which the regent is presiding officer, or before the particular *wedana* or chief of the division in which the litigants are living. From the judgment of the *wedana* there is an appeal to the regent; from the latter's judgment a still further appeal can be made to the *Landraad*.

The so-called historic self-governing regions all have their own judication. This, however, applies only to the subjects proper of the sultan, but not to any of the other residents. The jurisdiction of these courts, however, is negligible.

Finally, there are ecclesiastical courts, which have so-called religious jurisdiction among the natives. They take cognizance of cases affecting marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship, etc.—in a word the native cases which come directly under the commandments of the Koran. These courts curiously resemble the old ecclesiastical courts of England with their very effective jurisdictions.[1]

The Netherlands criminal code is applied for the natives wherever possible; in civil suits the old customary law (*adat*) is often followed.

[1] A good description of the jurisdiction of these courts in comparatively recent times is found in Dr. Warren's famous book, *Ten Thousand a Year*.

For litigation among Europeans provisions of the regular codes and statutes are applied, such as the Civil Code, Code of Civil Procedure, Code of Commerce (Law Merchant), Criminal Code, Code of Criminal Procedure, etc.

Education.—In viewing the educational facilities of Insulinde, it is not necessary to attach much importance to that phase of the problem which deals with the education of white children. It is only natural for white men generally, and for the Dutch race in particular, to take care of the education of its own youngsters. Holland had a public school system as far back as the thirteenth century,[1] long before any other Western nation ever thought of such a thing, and the percentage of native Hollanders who are illiterate is exceedingly small, in fact one of the smallest in the world.

But what has the Netherlands government done for the education of the little brown wards in "Tropical Holland"? The answer must be: It has been neglectful in the past, but is doing a great deal at present, and must do far more in the future. There is no university proper in Insulinde, although in 1920 a beginning was made by opening a technical university at Bandong, Java. It is a modest beginning, but it may be the nucleus around which a great institution of learning will soon spring up. There are, however, a number of institutions for the natives

[1] See *Holland*, by H. A. van Coenen Torchiana, San Francisco, 1915.

which we may compare with the smaller colleges in the United States, as follows:

1. The native law college, where native jurists are being trained for judicial positions. This was established in 1909. Students are admitted here after graduating from the grammar schools. The course is six years, three being devoted to general education, and three to the study of various branches of law, including the *Adat*.

It is hoped that a greater number of native jurists may be constantly developed, who will naturally be in closer contact with the population and better acquainted with the customs and languages of the different peoples than Netherlands jurists could be. Particular attention is paid to the ethical training of the pupils, which is one reason why the students are housed at the college. So far, only sons of native upper-class families are being admitted. They furnish the most promising material for the present.

2. The training schools for native officials.

These schools have been in existence for a long time. Graduates of the native Dutch grammar schools are admitted. They then follow a course of seven years, five of which are devoted to technical subjects, such as elementary jurisprudence, principles of political economy, agricultural engineering, administration, etc. Dutch, Malay, and one of nine native languages are taught. The pupils are boarded at the college; tuition fees are graduated in accordance

with the ability of the parents to pay. There are several of these colleges in the islands.

3. There are two medical colleges for the training of native physicians, the second being opened in 1913. The requirements for admittance are the same as for the law school. The course takes ten years.

4. There are two agricultural colleges, where veterinary surgery is also taught.

5. There are eight institutions for the training of native instructors, five of which are in Java and three outside of that island. In 1918 a training school for native women instructors was also established. The course is five years. Those who desire to become teachers in a Dutch-native school must follow a post-graduate course of three years in a normal school which was established for that purpose in 1914.

In addition, twelve normal schools have been established for the training of native assistant teachers. Most of these students receive not only tuition free of charge, but also free medical attention, free books, and a small monthly allowance.

The primary instruction is given in:

a) The people's schools, having a three-year course. In 1917 there were in Java and Madura 4,185 of these schools, with 299,516 pupils; in the outlying possessions there were 1,372 schools with 83,127 pupils.[1]

b) The native schools of the second class with a five-year course. There were 989 of these schools

[1] See *Official Yearbook of the Netherlands East Indies, 1920.*

in Java in 1917, and 490 in the outlying possessions, with an attendance of 142,415 and 72,875 respectively,

c) Private schools, of which there were 2,506 in Insulinde with 145,505 pupils in 1917.

d) Schools for Chinese, which number 220 with 12,636 pupils.

e) Schools for Arabs, of which there are 32 with 1,928 pupils.

All told, therefore, there are about 600,000 children receiving primary education throughout Insulinde. The total cost was, in 1918, slightly over 7,000,000 florins or 11 florins per pupil.[1] Inasmuch as the whole native population is about 40,000,000, the expense is only a bit over 18 cents per capita per year. That this number must be vastly increased in the future is evident,[2] but the government is laboring under extraordinary difficulties. Ever since there has been a decided movement for the uplift of the Oriental races, there has come an insistent demand for better educational facilities. The government report very aptly points out that the population itself does not offer sufficient intellectual forces to meet the needs; neither does it furnish the necessary material means.

To bring large numbers of teachers from Holland is almost prohibitive on account of the expense as

[1] A florin or guilder at normal exchange is about 39 cents in American money.

[2] In the Philippine Islands, with a population of ten million, 700,000 pupils are enrolled in the primary schools, while about 5,000 students attend the two universities.

well as on account of the needs of the mother country. Even now there is difficulty in finding additional teachers who are willing to teach in the tropics, for it takes extraordinary energy to introduce a homogeneous and practical scheme of instruction among a multitude of peoples, with totally different requirements and mental attitudes.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that an inherent difficulty with all government interference in education in the Indies, as in every other part of the world, lies in the inclination to theorize, and the disinclination to accept facts as they really exist. The great majority of the native population at the present time is not ready to offer fertile soil for theoretical education. Such education, if attempted, may prove a boomerang instead of a blessing.

Those who have come in contact with Oriental people will realize that the education of Oriental children by Occidental teachers is a difficult and exhausting task. The difficulty finds its root in the duality of mind of the individual. Education, to be of real value, must go far beyond "book learning." It must reach and improve not only the reason, but also the spirit and soul of the pupil. For the lack of better nomenclature the spirit, soul, or conscience may be called the subjective mind, while the pure reasoning power may be termed the objective mind. It is quite possible to bring the objective mind of the Western teacher in harmony with the objective mind of the Eastern pupil by means of logic and

reasoning, especially when topics are discussed which belong to the exact sciences.

Unhappily, as soon as the objective mind of such teacher endeavors to understand and influence the subjective mind of the pupil, a far more difficult problem presents itself. For while the objective mind takes cognizance of the objective world through the five physical senses, and its highest function is that of reasoning inductively, deductively, analytically, or synthetically, the subjective mind perceives by intuition, and is totally incapable of inductive reasoning; in other words, it only "jumps at conclusions." The subjective mind cannot classify a number of known facts and reason from them to a logical conclusion, as it is able to reason only instinctively.

The functions of the subjective mind are generally divided into two classes: the normal and the evolutionary functions. Functions of the first class are manifested by what are generally termed instincts, especially the instinct of self-preservation, the protection of the offspring, and possibly the preservation of human life generally. These instincts are the same among savage races as well as among civilized peoples. Therefore the white teacher has no difficulty in understanding this class of impulses in his Eastern pupils. The difficulty rests in the practical impossibility of understanding the evolutionary functions which operate in the pupils' subjective minds. These are the functions which are constantly active in the

mind of a normally sensitive person. They enable him to determine instinctively what is right and wrong and urge him to act accordingly; they warn him of danger, even when there is no sign to give notice of danger to the objective mind; and they manifest themselves in various other ways. Although always on the alert, these impulses are held in check by the objective mind. They are allowed to rise above the threshold of consciousness only when the occasion demands it. Naturally these impulses are far more complicated than the purely normal or animal impulses.

While the natural or animal instincts are, as we have said, the same among all human beings, regardless of their status of evolution or their breeding, the other evolutionary impulses are very different among races which have different standards and forms of civilization. The development of the race, the religious and moral teachings of the past, the political ideals, all exercise a powerful influence on the formation and operation of that part of the subjective mind. The standard of right and wrong is sure to be materially different in the two races. There is often a standard in one race which opposes a standard of another race. Each race has been struggling for centuries to ascertain the laws of this standard in order that it may place itself in harmony with them. But each race may have been struggling along different lines, and have come to different conclusions. The instinctive conclusions

so reached, being of slow growth, are consequently very slow to change.

In youth especially impulses are strongest. They are closely connected with the psychic phenomena of auto-hypnotism. Boys can play at a train holdup, and for the time being really believe that they are either robbers or officers of the law. Moreover, a child has an almost uncanny instinct for recognizing its friends or enemies, and this has probably given rise to the saying, "Never trust a person whom children dislike." The subjective mind of a Javanese child, or of any child of the Far East, is distinctly, peculiarly, and decidedly Oriental. It is largely hereditary and greatly influenced by the generations of teaching a moral, mental, and political philosophy which is radically different from that of the white man. When the child reaches school age his subjective mind is active and alert; it acts along Oriental lines. It is true that for a few hours each day he listens to the teachings of the white teacher, but the balance of the day and night he is again among his own people—people endowed with a psychology that the child intuitively understands, but which opposes the psychology of the teacher.

A successful teacher is one who is loved by his pupils, not feared; who understands their joys and sorrows and sympathizes with them. With white children, the white teacher has only to remember his own youth. He knows that the home influence will be along the same lines as his own, and so he

has a good basis for understanding. The children instinctively understand him, even though their objective minds may not be able to follow his reasoning. He can hardly hope for such understanding from the Oriental child. There is an utter difference in psychology, and a resulting difference in the operation of the subjective minds of the teacher and pupil, which stops the flow of mental intercourse. This makes teaching so exhausting to the white pedagogue, and often most difficult for the native child.

It has been observed in the United States that a literary or theoretical education, no matter how simple, given to a race which is not prepared to receive it, has the opposite result from the one aimed at. Instead of improving the race, it causes deterioration. Instead of awakening new qualities in the individual, it destroys the good qualities already existing. In Insulinde it generally takes the form of indifferent mental development accompanied by pompousness and laziness, and a destruction of simple industry and love of work.

What the Javanese population needs at the present time more than anything else is a system of simple schools in manual training, where not only the mind, but especially the hand and the character of the children can be trained, and where it may be forcibly impressed on their minds that work well done by the hand is of more value than work poorly done by the mind. Such schools should be established in the cities and in the countrysides.

TRAINED JAVANESE MECHANICS IN THE WORKSHOP OF THE STATE RAILROAD AT BANDONG, JAVA

Native farming is generally done now along ancient, even prehistoric lines. Schools of agriculture are badly needed, where the young may be taught in their native language improved farming methods, and especially improved horticulture. This sort of education for years to come will prove a very much greater blessing than any theoretical teaching. At the present time, as soon as a native has acquired a smattering of education, he is inclined to go to the cities, where the number of petty clerks is constantly increasing. Settled there, he exhibits what he believes to be the emblem of superior development, that is, silk socks and fine boots.

Manual training schools, agricultural and horticultural schools, however, will teach the nations to become good mechanics and first-class farmers, instead of third-rate clerks. In this matter of education, the Italian proverb, "Qui va piano, va sano," may well be observed. The Chinese far surpass the Javanese in handicrafts and general industries, but the natives offer splendid material for development as mechanical experts, etc., if they are given the opportunity. The need is for education along these lines.

The government is doing its very best, but it seemed to the writer during his travels that individual enterprise could do far more. Great wealth is acquired by individual corporations and captains of agricultural industry in the Indies, but the idea of large educational benefactions, such as prevail in the United States, has not yet penetrated to any marked

extent in these regions. To accelerate these mental processes, it might not be amiss for the government to levy on all surplus profits of plantations a special sur-school tax, out of which to defray the expenses of neighborhood schools.

Possibly the government might also create a permanent school fund out of a new surcharge on the lease money of government lands (so-called canon), as many of the states in the American Union obtained permanent educational funds from the sale of "school lands," that is such lands of the public domain as were specially set aside for this purpose. The government is now fully alive to the importance of this question, and it looks as if it would have the most unanimous support of public opinion in the establishment of such funds. The dissenters would probably be those immediately affected, those who are hide-bound in the sacred traditions of inviolate property rights, which unkindly economists claim almost always involve the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger.

THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

The government of the Netherlands East Indies is in every respect a modern government functioning smoothly as such. Consequently it has engaged in a great many governmental activities. While some of these activities are beneficial both to the white man and to the natives, others are especially devised for the sole benefit of the latter.

As the two races live together in harmony and freely intermingle, it is not easy to draw an exact line of cleavage, for that which is to the best interest of one class must at least indirectly benefit the other.

There is a smaller category of government activities or lack of activities which one hears occasionally criticized by American and other foreign observers. These are: (*a*) salt monopoly; (*b*) the state monopoly of opium; (*c*) insufficient instruction in modern languages—especially Dutch; (*d*) penal sanction. The mixed activities are principally: (*a*) administration of railroads and tramways; (*b*) postal, telegraph, and telephone service; (*c*) road system; (*d*) construction and maintenance of harbors and roadsteads and the fostering of shipping; (*e*) the development of foreign trade; (*f*) mining operations; (*g*) water-power and electric service; (*h*) police system; (*i*) prison system.

The purely native activities may be enumerated as follows: (*a*) native banking, including pawnshops; (*b*) native health regulations; (*c*) irrigation; (*d*) civil veterinary service; (*e*) fisheries; (*f*) forestry.

For the sake of an orderly discussion, we will first treat the "objectionable activities."

a) *The salt monopoly.*—It is often stated that a salt monopoly is an antiquated evil brought up to date, for it levies a tax on one of the basic necessaries of the people, a form of taxation which is considered with small favor by all sound economists of today.

It is claimed with a great deal of force that sea salt is a free gift provided by nature in her great bounty; that man cannot live without salt; and that where nature has supplied it in large quantities, as in the islands of the archipelago, surrounded by the sea, it is a mistaken fiscal policy to prevent the inhabitants from availing themselves of it. In most countries where these monopolies have formerly existed, they have been abandoned. While in some of the outlying possessions the manufacture of salt is still unrestricted, all over Java and Madura, and in most districts of Sumatra and Borneo, the government monopoly is extant.

Salt is mostly manufactured on the island of Madura, by a process of evaporating the sea-water. The product is sold in blocks, which are made in factories of this island, while the sale is carried on in behalf of the government by European and native salt vendors.

Importation of salt in the monopolized districts is prohibited, excepting refined table salt (which is almost exclusively for European table use), and that which is required for the preservation and packing of foodstuffs.

The best that can be said about this monopoly is that the revenue is comparatively small. In 1918, the total gross receipts were slightly over 17,000,000 guilders, being equivalent at a normal rate of exchange to about $7,000,000. The expenditures, including wages paid mostly to natives, were slightly over

$3,000,000, leaving a balance for the whole monopoly of a little over $4,000,000. Inasmuch as about 35,000,000 natives were affected by this monopoly, they contributed on account of the same about eight American cents per head a year. During 1918, 124,442 tons of salt were sold, making the price about $56 a ton, or 2.8 cents a pound in American money. This kind of salt in California markets retails for 3 cents a pound.

While the very material difference in living standards existing in these countries must be considered, still one cannot say that this monopoly is as oppressive as some people endeavor to represent it.

b) *The opium trade.*—Whether or not it is moral for a government to regulate a traffic in opium or in any other vice, and incidentally make a profit from such traffic, is a question which is as old as the civilized world. The same principle is involved in the regulation and licensing by state law of prostitution, the sale of alcoholic liquors, tobacco, and narcotics.

State regulation almost invariably includes the payment of state fees, for instance, the municipal saloon license fees prevailing in almost every municipality in the world; the internal revenue fees, a federal tax levied by the American government on the sale of liquors, which was in full force and effect up to the time of the adoption recently of the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution, and from which the United States government derived, and is still deriving, a large income; the monopoly in

the sale of cigarettes, especially in France, etc. Those in favor of this state regulation generally use this line of argument: That prohibition does not prohibit; that in the case of prostitution, attempted prevention scatters its votaries from a well-defined vice district, under the supervision of the police authorities, broadcast through the residence district; that in addition it does away with sanitary inspection and has a marked influence on the growth of loathsome diseases; that it gives degenerate males an added opportunity for pandering, and venal police officers an opportunity for blackmailing.

In the case of strong liquors, it is claimed that they induce a large number of otherwise law-abiding citizens to become law-breakers; that for good liquor, active poison is substituted; that instead of a well-regulated liquor traffic, from which the government derived an income, there are substituted bootlegging and other illicit sales of spirits, on a large or small scale, from which only the criminal element derives an income; and so on. The proponents of these regulations almost invariably call their opponents abolitionists and fanatics.

Those who are opposed to regulation boldly declare that it is immoral for any government to derive an income from the exploitation of the vices of its subjects or citizens; that there can be no compromise with evil, and if such compromise is attempted only more evil can result therefrom; that the only way to wean people away from these vices is to

educate them to do without entirely; that such education will be forever impossible as long as the government countenances the traffic.

The regulation of the opium traffic in the Netherlands East Indies, as a matter of course, does not escape a similar controversy. All that can be said is that the government, so far, has found it advisable to exercise such control. The use of opium was brought to Insulinde from China by the large Chinese population living there, and has spread from the Chinese to some of the natives. The first effort to regulate this traffic was made by leasing the right to retail the drug in the islands of Java and Madura. This system, however, gave rise to many abuses, principally because the lessees encouraged the use of opium. As soon as the government ascertained that the means employed defeated the very aim, it put a stop to this, and took the opium traffic into its own hands. This method was gradually extended until 1913, when the government controlled the trade of practically the whole archipelago.

At the present time the importation and sale of opium can take place only through the government. Most of the raw material is obtained in Bengal. The prepared opium is packed in tubes, which cannot be opened without being damaged, and which cannot therefore be refilled with inferior opium by illicit traders.

The government has done away with all commissions and other profits of the salesmen, who now

receive a regular monthly salary. They refuse to recognize any intermediaries, who may have an interest in the encouragement of the habit, and therefore the extension of the sale.

A great many regulations are in force, all tending gradually to reduce the use of opium. While these regulations differ so as to meet local conditions and necessities, in most places in the Indies private persons are prohibited from having any opium in their possession at all, even though they obtain the same through the monopoly. In other districts special licenses are required, and in some places there is a so-called prohibitive area where no one can have any opium.

One of the regulations is that under no condition can opium be sold to young people under eighteen years of age. The resale of government opium is strictly forbidden and, furthermore, in order to limit the use, the price for which government opium is sold is continuously raised. Ever since the control was put into effect, the number of shops and dens where the population has the opportunity of using this drug has diminished. In addition, the sale and use of morphine, cocaine, and other surrogates are put under rigid control.

The regulation of the use of opium in Oriental countries is about as difficult as the regulation of the use of strong liquors in Western countries. To give one instance: When, some years ago, the government endeavored to stop the importation of opium

into the island of Banka, where the great tin mines are situated, operated almost entirely by Chinese coolies, 25,000 of these coolies promptly struck and refused to take up their tools again until they could resume the use of the drug, and no other labor was available or obtainable.

At the present time the government is using its best efforts to prevent the importation and illicit sale of opium, while endeavoring at the same time gradually to reduce the legal use of opium. Perhaps finally the whole matter will come to a system of rigidly supervising the sale and the use of the drug, so that only those who are hopeless addicts can secure it. Then the habit may eventually disappear, or be brought down to a negligible factor.

c) The language question.—The language question has had the very serious consideration of government officials and other thoughtful inhabitants of Insulinde for several decades past. Formerly the white man was almost invariably opposed to teaching the native any European language. In fact a native was not allowed to address a Dutch official or merchant in the Dutch language if he mastered that language, which he rarely did. While this attitude may, in the light of our present advanced ideas, look constrained, to say the least, still it must be considered that it is only for the last fifty years that the thought has penetrated the consciousness of the white man that colonies are not primarily existent for the benefit of the mother country, but

that, on the contrary, the mother country has very great duties to discharge toward her colonies, and the native inhabitants have inalienable rights, which must be respected and fostered.

If it be remembered that only sixty years ago the institution of slavery was still flourishing in these United States, that the history of the treatment of the Indian or red man of even later date is anything but pleasant to read, then it is not difficult to reach the conclusion that the attitude of the Hollanders toward their wards in the colonies was not particularly lacking or behind the times, but was really quite consistent with the general trend of the white man's thoughts. Fortunately there has come a very marked change in this general attitude, and today the Netherlands East Indian government, fully aroused to its responsibilities toward the natives, is doing all that could be desired.

The desirability of teaching the natives the language of the mother country has been a much-debated question. By the proponents of this idea it is claimed that such a course can only give rise to loyalty, and draw closer the tie which binds the mother country to its colonies; and that it will open the large cultural field of the old and modern Netherlands civilization, first to educated natives, and later to the rank and file of the native population.

There is an equally large class of thoughtful people strenuously opposed to this idea. By them it is claimed that language is a powerful element

in the general evolution of a people; that the Netherlands government would assist in making the natives second-class Hollanders by introducing the Netherlands language, while it should endeavor to assist them in becoming first-class Orientals; that a native language should be adopted, and the people should be allowed to evolve along their natural lines, for which a knowledge of their own tongue, folklore, traditions, etc., is essential.

It is submitted that while both arguments contain a great deal of merit, they also contain several elements which do not seem to stand the acid test of close scrutiny. By all means let each people remember the native tongue; let the younger ones cultivate it, and cherish their native traditions. Teach them in their native tongue the dignity of all useful endeavor, including manual labor.

It must be remembered, however, by those who oppose the introduction of the Dutch language that it is an inherent characteristic of intellectuals, belonging to a people who are numerically small, to attach an exaggerated importance to the matter of language. Just because a nation is small in numbers, the instinct of self-defense makes its members unconsciously cherish their own language as something sacred, and instils in them the firm belief that all their cultural interests are firmly bound up in that language, and that their noble traditions of the past would lose a vast amount of value, if not perish entirely, when not expressed in the native tongue.

The constant fear hovering over them that the smaller nation will lose its identity and will be merged into a larger nation unconsciously affects their thoughts as to their language, a language in which they see one of the bulwarks of their independence and separate entity. This feeling not only is natural, but is patriotic in the best sense.[1]

Now the fact remains that several people may speak the same language and still enjoy a radically different psychology. We have a very strong example of this in the English language. The fact that the United States and Great Britain use the same language does not seem in any way to interfere with the separate, distinct, and different evolutionary forces at work in each nation, or tend to make out of the American people second-class English instead of first-class loyal Americans.

It is therefore submitted that if the Javanese and other natives and groups of people in Insulinde would speak the Netherlands language it would not necessitate their evolution into second-class Hollanders, but to the contrary might accelerate their evolution in becoming first-class Dutch-speaking Orientals, or Oriental Netherlanders.

[1] We see this especially among the members of the "Nationalist" party in South Africa, of which General Hertzog is the able and distinguished leader. This National party is really the Boer or Dutch party, while the South African party, of which such Boers as General Botha and General Smuts were and are the leaders, is the real national party of the South African Union, desiring to evolve a true South African, as contradistinguished from a Dutchman or an Englishman.

Under modern conditions it is hardly possible for a people inhabiting an archipelago (only geographically an entity) whose inhabitants speak sixty different tongues and have as many or more different tribal laws and tribal customs, to evolve along racial lines, for this would give a confusion of interests compared to which the notorious confusion of interests of the Balkan States would be a complete harmony.

Eventually it will be necessary to introduce one universal language. The selection of this language is not a simple question. Disregarding the opinion that the teaching of the Netherlands language would result in making inferior Netherlanders of the native, there is a more serious and valid objection.

Dutch is essentially a Western tongue and difficult for an Oriental to acquire. It is not a natural language for a dessaman. For him it is much easier to obtain a good knowledge of Malay, for this is already the *lingua franca* of trade in the archipelago. Javanese, Sundanese, etc., do not seem to have any difficulty in mastering this tongue. Along the coasts it is now the established agency of communication.

Possibly the best solution will be to teach the Malay language to the great mass of the natives whose average school years for decades to come will be necessarily short. Instruction in the Holland language may be confined to native chiefs, such as regents and *wedanas*, who already speak Malay, and to those natives who apply for a higher education.

At present Dutch is taught in all native schools of the first class, and in the so-called Holland-native schools this language is used entirely as the medium of imparting knowledge.

d) *The penal sanction* (*poenale sanctie*).—The penal sanction is a criminal penalty attached to the breaking of a civil labor contract. The regulations bearing on this question have two aims, viz.: (1) to provide the employers in sparsely populated districts with labor, thereby making the "winning of Insulinde's West" possible, and (2), to provide the contract laborer with the necessary protection, and put him under qualified governmental supervision. To accomplish these purposes, the rights and obligations of employer and employee are carefully specified in the so-called coolie ordinances, under which labor contracts become operative.

According to the terms of these ordinances, coolie contracts may be made for a period not longer than three years, and these contracts must furthermore comply with all the requirements enacted for the benefit of the protection of the coolies. Otherwise they become void.

The employer obligates himself to treat the laborer humanely and justly, to pay his wages regularly, to furnish him free and adequate lodging, to give him free medical treatment, including the necessary medicine, to supply him with an ample amount of pure water for bathing as well as drinking purposes, and to return the laborer, free of any

expense, to the place whence he came, either after the expiration of his term of contract, or prior to that time if the contract is voided for a valid reason.

It is explicitly provided that in no event shall an employee be required to work more than ten hours a day, except under extraordinary circumstances.

An unjustifiable breach of the contract by the employer is punished by fine.

On the other hand, the contract laborer or contract coolie, assumes certain obligations, that is, to work the regular hours, to obey all reasonable orders in connection with the work, not to leave the employ of his master before the expiration of the contract, etc.

As the Oriental laborer is notoriously improvident, as he is, almost without exception, unable to respond to any civil judgment for damages, and the imposition of pecuniary fines would invariably prove to be an empty proceeding, he can be punished, either by fine or imprisonment, when he deliberately and without good cause breaks the terms of his contract. Such punishment, however, cannot be pronounced by the employer or his deputy, but is solely imposed by a judge of competent jurisdiction, to whom all such cases are referred, and whose word is final in the premises. The coolie is personally brought before the judge, confronted with his accuser, and given an opportunity to explain his side of the question.

The recruiting of these coolies almost always takes place on the islands of Java and Madura, which are densely populated, if not overpopulated.

The laborers are intended for the estates in the "outlying possessions" (by this is meant all the islands except Java and Madura), and the recruiting also is done strictly under government control. No one can engage in the business of recruiting laborers without having a special permit from the government. Before a contract can be closed the laborer must have a medical examination to show that he is physically fit for the work for which he has engaged himself, and a doctor's certificate must be issued in each individual case. Without this certificate, and without an additional one signed by the proper government authority, in which it is cited that the recruit has been made aware of, and that he agrees to, the clauses of the labor contract, no contract is valid. In fact a recruiting commissioner is stationed in each port of embarkation, and he has, to a large extent, the same duties to discharge toward these contract laborers as the United States Shipping Commissioner in an American port has toward the sailors of all ships leaving the port.

Before a contract is finally signed, the laborers are repeatedly told exactly to what they are binding themselves, and that they are free to return to their respective homes without any obstacles being put in their way, if they make known to the authorities that they have changed their minds and do not wish to sign the contracts.

The contract laborers are transported at the expense of the employer from Java, generally to

the northeast coast of Sumatra, by specially equipped steamers, each of which must have a licensed physician on board. Upon arrival at Deli, Sumatra, they are placed in rooming-houses which are likewise specially equipped, and which may be compared with the immigrant hotels maintained by the large steamship companies in European ports to house immigrants bound for the United States. Here they are once more under medical supervision, and those who are finally passed proceed to the estate which has contracted for their labor. The others are returned at the employer's expense.

As a general rule the first contract runs for three years. After three years the contract laborer becomes a so-called free laborer and can renew his contract if he so desires, and this is generally done for a shorter period, and for considerably higher wages. This is possible and logical for two reasons: in the first place the laborer has become skilled in his particular work, and secondly the employer finds the man on the ground and does not have to go to all the expense of immigration.

Should the laborer not desire to renew his contract, he is returned at the expense of the employer, to the place whence he came, and this is done under the supervision of government officials.

Most of the employers take excellent care of their laborers, with the result that on some of the estates from 60 to 80 per cent of the men desire re-employment as free laborers at the end of their

term of contract. A great many others remain on the estate to establish themselves as small farmers or retail store-keepers, and others again as domestic servants. They then become permanent residents—colonists in the true sense of the word.

The United States Rubber Company, which operates large rubber estates near Medan, Sumatra, obtains its labor supply in this manner.

The opponents of the system claim that the authority vested in the Netherlands judge, to sentence a man to the workhouse or the prison because he refuses to perform the work he has contracted for, on the complaint of the employer, smacks of slavery.

The extremists claim that it is an anachronism, something which should never be tolerated in these enlightened times. The "antis" are very outspoken in their denunciations.

The "pros" are equally firm in their justifications. They claim that it is ridiculous to speak of "slave driving." One may just as well consider the truant officer of the public schools in the United States or any other advanced country a "slave driver," for this truant officer forces girls and boys against their will to attend school and do mental work so necessary to their future development and happiness. The "pros" add that these Oriental laborers have only just arrived at the stage of mental development where a truant officer is necessary. Moreover, they say the great industries could not exist without this penal sanction. The "antis" argue: "Are human

A COCK-FIGHT WITNESSED BY NATIVES

rights of less importance than property rights?" The truth, of course, lies in the middle, between these arguments.

If the principal answer to the "antis" were the statement which is generally made—that the magnificent industries which have been developed in Sumatra cannot exist without the importation of this contract labor, and that this imported contract labor would be totally ineffective and prohibitively expensive without the penal sanction in the labor contracts or coolie ordinances, the inevitable rejoinder would be that under modern conditions such industries have no right to exist, and that it would be far better that they perish than that human liberty be violated, especially when this violation takes place with the encouragement of an enlightened government, such as the Netherlands East Indian government claims to be, and in fact is. This would certainly be the American rejoinder, and the fact that certain American concessionaires in the island of Sumatra are availing themselves of the same methods would in no way weaken American criticism, but, if anything, emphasize it. For was it not almost identically the same argument by which slavery was justified for centuries all over the world, the southern parts of the United States not excepted?

But there is quite another phase of the situation which well merits serious consideration. On account of religious and social prejudices, the Javanese are slow, almost averse to emigration. They desire to

live and die in the village which gave them birth, even if the village becomes overcrowded and the lands do not produce enough for the ever-growing population. In addition, Oriental inertia exercises a potent influence on all of their decisions.

The marked difference between the immigration to the new lands of the Western states and territories of the United States and the immigration of the Javanese to the new lands of their West is the religious aspect of each movement. American and European pioneers were not only fired by the hopes of bettering their industrial and social conditions, but they were sustained by their Christian belief, by hope, trust, and faith. With a buoyant spirit they went into the wilderness to cut out that great Empire of the West which since then has challenged the admiration of the world, and, while they went with ax and gun in hand, they nevertheless took with them as a priceless heritage of their forefathers the joyful convictions of their Christian faith. Soon in their trail followed their churches, their little schoolhouses, in fact "the little schoolhouse on the hill" became the center of pioneer activities, wherever a small community was established. The itinerant preachers, the circuit riders, the priests of the small churches, the school teachers, all did their part. It was the hopeful gospel of Christ, born of the white man's energy, which winged its way westward. One can say this truthfully without being unmindful of the fact that this civilization, precipitated into the

wilderness, was accompanied by many faults and drawbacks, and without forgetting that the white man's injustice to the native children of the plains and forests was often painful, and that with him came whiskey bottles and many diseases of body and soul. These were unfortunate details which necessarily detract from the general loveliness of the picture of the winning of the West.

It is quite different, however, with this Javanese immigration toward the wild lands of Sumatra and Borneo. While the necessity of emigration is considerably greater there than it ever was in the eastern states of the Union, no popular impulse breeds that intense desire for betterment of conditions. When once launched on the roads to the wilderness, the white man knew that Paul's dictum, "He who will not work shall not eat," would be the inflexible law of his existence. But in the Indies matters are different. The needs of the people, on account of climatic conditions, are very slight. They do not need to provide against hard winters sure to come. Shoes, stockings, are hardly ever worn by the average man or woman. Clothing is reduced to a minimum. Children go nude until they are about six years old. Everybody is notoriously improvident. Saving is a rare virtue over there.

The ground is fertile, and with the expenditure of very little effort a living is made. If they do emigrate they do not have to fear the attack of nomads, as the white man did, for they know they are protected by

their Dutch overlords, so everything is made easy for them in their new home, both by nature and by the government.

But their faith is not Christian. While in times of great mental disturbances their religion appears to instil in its followers a bravery bordering on the fanatical, it does not give to its votaries that sustained strength of the Christian faith and hope. For colonization on their own initiative they lack the quiet, persistent moral stamina so necessary for the success of such an undertaking.

The limit of the ability of even a fertile soil, such as the island of Java possesses, to accommodate an ever-increasing population has about been reached. Even now much rice must be imported, and if it were not for the considerable financial returns derived from the cultivation of export articles on a large scale, under the direction of the white planter, and along the most advanced scientific lines, the nourishing of this vast and teeming population of Java would present a very great problem even now. According to the last census, Java had a population of over 33,000,000 people, that is about 259 people to the square kilometer, or 710 to the square mile.

There are on an average not more than thirty persons to the square mile in Sumatra, and in fact on the east coast, where the large rubber and tobacco plantations are located, the inhabitants are a fraction less than twenty-seven to the square mile. In other words the population of Java is twenty-four times as dense

as that of Sumatra. In addition, much of the soil of Sumatra is still virgin land, and the question of overpopulation, which will soon be as pressing in Java as it is in Japan, is easily solved by the opportunities offered in Sumatra. No one can doubt the duty of an enlightened government in directing its surplus flow of population into the most advantageous channels. For the overflow of the island of Java, the outlying possessions are close at hand. The white man's rule has made these islands safe for immigration and has checked the depredations of tribes formerly savage or semi-savage, and of wild animals, such as tigers, etc. Large tracts of land are available now, where human endeavor has never been exercised before. There are some small islands where hardly one human being has ever lived. All of the islands have practically the same climatic conditions as Java, and the Javanese can thrive in them in large colonies. These lands beckon the immigrant. Here, as in the United States, the "winning of the West" offers a most wonderful opportunity for human endeavor and betterment of conditions.

But Insulinde has no hardy class of white pioneers, who, with ax in hand, can go into the forest, or spurred and booted can ride their ponies over the plains, whirling their *lariatas* and singing their cowboy ballads. The climate does not allow the white man to exert himself as he did in Western United States. The white man's burden here is the furnishing of brains, organizing talent, technical skill, honest government—all matters of which the overwhelming percentage of

the natives are still mostly ignorant. Much is being done to make a change in this condition, but it is a matter of evolution, and evolution takes not years but centuries.

The labor contracts are doing a great deal to direct colonization along the very best lines, and to make the winning of these untamed regions possible. From this standpoint alone the labor contracts may receive very earnest and very favorable consideration as providing the best means just now available for arriving at this highly desirable result. Eventually there may be a residue of such laborers, sufficiently large in number to make further contracts unnecessary.

In the meantime the government is endeavoring to settle the outlying possessions by means of direct colonization. A successful experiment has been made in part of Sumatra, where in the year 1918 a Javanese colony was located, consisting of 2,339 families, or about ten thousand people. Gradually immigration is increasing. The new colonists are allowed transportation to their destination, advances are made to each family for the price of tools, seeds, etc., and a regular credit and banking system is established. Eventually this liberal system may result in doing away with labor contracts entirely, and in relieving the overpopulation in Java.

A gradual increase of this free emigration, and a decrease of the penal sanction system will solve this vexing question. For the present the government must remain satisfied with encouraging free coloni-

zation, at the same time rigidly protecting the contract laborers, who, by the way, earn a wage about four times as high as the wages in their native Java. To judge by their alacrity in renewing their contracts they are, generally speaking, very satisfied with their lot in life.

With apologies to Mr. Bairnsfather, the writer, cannot refrain from saying: "He who knows a better 'ole, let him go to it."

GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES FOR BOTH WHITES AND NATIVES

a) *Railroads.*—There are both government and privately owned railroads, tramways, and automobile service in Insulinde.

The first state railroad constructed in Java was opened to the public on May 16, 1878. It was a small section between Surabaya and Pasuruan of about thirty-six miles. Since then the system has been extended until there are now found fifteen hundred miles of standard-gauge and sixty miles of narrow-gauge railroads built by the government.[1]

In Sumatra there have been constructed about six hundred miles of standard- and narrow-gauge railroads, and extensions are continuously under way.

In 1918, on the fifteen hundred miles of broad-gauge railroad in Java, over fifty million passengers were carried, and more than six million tons of

[1] These measurements are in accordance with the standards accepted in the Netherlands East Indies, being the same as those accepted in the Empire of Japan and in the Union of South Africa. The railroad between Samarang and Djokjakarta is the same as what would be called standard-gauge in the United States of America.

merchandise were transported. The net revenue of these railroads was about sixteen million dollars. In the same year the railroads on the west coast of Sumatra transported about three and a half million passengers with seven hundred and ten thousand tons of merchandise.

In addition to the state railroads there are private railroads and tramways. The first to be opened was the private railroad between Samarang and Djokjakarta in 1873. Since that time it has been considerably extended. While it is by no means as important as the state-controlled railroads, still it renders an important service.

For instance, in 1918 the private roads between Samarang and Djokjakarta transported over four million passengers and one million tons of merchandise, while the short Deli railroad, situated near Deli, Sumatra, carried four and a half million passengers and close to one million tons of merchandise. It is safe to predict that both private and state railroads will be continuously extended, and will slowly replace the very extensive auto service which is now carried on in connection with these lines.

The railroads and steam tramways are very extensively patronized by the natives, these constituting the vast majority of the passengers. Every train seems to be loaded to capacity with them, and generally they are a happy, chattering, prosperous-looking lot.

All the minor officials, such as assistant train masters, assistant station masters, station masters of

FORMER MODE OF TRANSPORTATION, STILL USED IN MOUNTAIN CLIMBING

small stations, conductors, and the like, are natives, and appear to discharge their duties well.

b) *Postal, telegraph, and telephone service.*—The postal service was inaugurated in 1862, and originated as a government monopoly. In 1877 the Netherlands East Indies joined the Universal Postal Union. From that date the service has been steadily extended, including postal money collections since 1881, foreign and domestic money orders since 1892, and parcel post service since 1893.

Special postal conventions were entered into with Great Britain in 1905, with the Straits Settlements in 1911, with the Australian Commonwealth in 1912, and with China in 1919, all of which tended to facilitate the dispatching of special mails.

Internally the mail service is regulated partly on the city delivery system and partly on the rural delivery system. Places not situated on seaboard, or on railways, or tramways, are served by automobiles, post-carts, pack-horses, mail-carriers, on foot, etc. Even the smallest places, away up in the mountains, are included and served by this system.

A very low tariff has been adopted for printed matter, while the usual European or American tariff prevails for postal cards, letters, and the like.

Five times every two weeks the foreign mails are dispatched, or about once every three days.

In 1918 the post-offices in Insulinde handled 1,697,436 letters for foreign countries, besides 262,197 post cards, 419,735 pieces of printed matter and

84,981 samples, all outgoing mail. In the same year the service handled, as incoming mail from abroad, 2,380,531 letters, 343,954 postal cards, 2,089,191 pieces of printed matter and 55,393 samples, besides money orders, etc.

The domestic mail service carried during the same year 14,170,650 paid letters, 8,928,738 postal cards, 6,637,488 service letters (official business), 16,055,338 newspapers, and 223,730 samples. In addition it handled 1,088,561 service letters and 1,857,914 general pieces of registered mail, 1,794,446 postal money orders to the value of $78,170,000, and 574,385 samples.

Except for the higher executive positions the vast majority of the employees engaged in this service are natives.

The first telegraph line completed in Java was a short line between Batavia and Buitenzorg in 1858. Since that time lines have been extended in every direction, while cables are uniting the principal islands.

In 1918 there were about sixteen thousand miles of telegraph lines and about six thousand miles of submarine cable in service. There has been a cable connection between Java and Singapore since 1870, one between Java and Australia since 1872, between Penang and Medan since 1891, and between Batavia and Cocos Island since 1908. There has also been a cable from Menado via Yap, to Shanghai and Guam, and from there to San Francisco since 1904. There has been one between Pontianak, Borneo, and Saigon since 1916.

Besides several minor radio stations, one was erected in Bandong, Java, in 1919, for direct wireless connection with the Netherlands. In 1912 the Netherlands East Indies joined the International Radio-Telegraph Convention of London.

In the year 1918, 1,919,419 private domestic telegrams were handled, besides 113,146 government messages, while incoming and outgoing telegrams to the number of 424,770, exclusive of 366,799 press messages, were received or sent.

In 1883 a beginning was made with the construction of telephone lines by private companies, but it soon became apparent that the main trunk lines could be successfully operated only by the government. Since 1901 the main lines have been so operated, and this service is also being continuously extended.

The telephone lines reach out in every direction. In 1918 the service covered approximately 70,000 miles, with 189 regular telephone offices. The net profits of the government were only $200,000, but an excellent service was maintained. Of long distance calls alone there were close to eight hundred thousand.

c) Roads.—It is impossible to say too many laudatory things about the roads in Insulinde generally, and Java in particular. It is the only Oriental country visited by the writer where a person can travel with comfort for days and days by automobile. Some of the roads are simply superb in the boldness of their construction and the mode of their upkeep. The writer traveled by auto from Padang, southwest

Sumatra, to Medan, in northeast Sumatra, over a highway about five hundred miles. This road goes via Fort de Kock, Kota Nopan, Sibolga, Taruntung, Balige, Toba Lake, and Pematang Sir Antar. It skirts ravines, crosses lofty mountains, and here and there the roadbed is hewn out of the sheer rock. The scenery is unbelievably beautiful, and the countryside, with its ever-changing views of mountains, streams, valleys, dessas of different tribes, virgin forests, all unsurpassingly interesting.

The automobile traveled at an average speed of twenty-five to thirty miles an hour, covering, with the necessary halts, about one hundred and fifty miles a day. We generally traveled from 5:30 in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon. In some of the larger places there were good country hotels, while in the smaller places *passagrahans* (government rest houses) were provided. These *passagrahans* are very clean, comfortable, and reasonable in price. They are generally kept by one or more natives, principally for government travelers, but on proper application to the authorities private travelers are also made welcome.

A road is now being constructed around Toba Lake and will be finished some time this year. In 1919 the road ended at Balige,[1] on the lake, and one had to cross

[1] Balige is a fisherman's village which is well worth visiting. Here the Battaks may be seen in their native *kampongs* where the houses are elevated ten or twelve feet above the level of the ground on palings, and somewhat resemble boats. The space underneath is occupied by livestock, etc., during the night, but during the day

the water by motor-boat, a journey of several hours, and continue on the other side toward Pematang Sir Antar.

The traffic on the roads, especially in Java, is very heavy, and continuously increasing. Besides the European automobile travel, one encounters a multitude of natives and other Orientals on foot, on horseback, in pony-carts, and the like.

It is one of the most interesting sights to see, every morning, these roads leading to the larger places

---

one may see women sitting there in the shade, doing their weaving on huge frames.

The controller in charge, Mr. P. Scheffer, showed the same courtesy and firmness in dealing with the natives as seemed to be possessed by all the civil servants that one meets during one's travels, be it in lovely Java, or in the remotest wilderness of the outlying possessions. His comfortable house was situated in the immediate neighborhood of the *kampong* of the Battaks, a tribe which only a comparatively few years ago were man-eaters. His charming wife seemed on an excellent footing with the women of the *kampong*. They all greeted her with courtesy wherever she went her way as our guide. There was no trace of fear.

It is only a short time since the frequent sound of a trumpet announced the arrival of a troop of Dutch cavalry, sent to investigate and punish some barbaric outrage.

As we crossed Toba Lake in the motor-boat of the controller, he suddenly stood erect and focused his field glasses on a speck on the water. In the native tongue he gave a few short orders and soon the boat shot in the direction of this speck. As we approached, the outline of a large canoe became distinguishable. It was paddled by about thirty natives, and carried several passengers in gay native costumes, lending color to the scene. With a shrill blast of the whistle, our boat sped away without interfering with the natives.

The controller read a question in the writer's mind and explained that he was looking for probable rice smugglers. Rice was short

literally covered with natives bringing their wares to the *pasars* (markets). Motor driving becomes, for several miles, as great an art as driving through the traffic in a busy American city.

Formerly the roads were entirely under the supervision of the central government. They were therefore state roads. Now, within the municipalities, the local administrations must care for the streets and roads. Outside of the municipalities the provincial councils are gradually being intrusted with their care.

---

at that time, and an effort was made to keep the natives from exporting it, as there would be the dire result of famine prices, and possibly real famine afterward. In that district, as in many others, the exportation of rice was strictly prohibited, in order to protect the natives against their own follies, but tempted by higher prices they tried to smuggle it out.

The writer inquired if it were possible to protect the native against his own follies. The controller smiled and said, "Our first sworn duty is to be the elder brother of these people, to guide them and advise them. We try to be just, and we enforce the laws, because we believe them to be just, too."

These men often lead a very lonesome life in the wilderness. It is especially difficult for the wives and children, deprived of many advantages which they wish for as much as anyone. But there is much work to do in Insulinde, and the men are wonderfully courageous.

The writer looked at the kindly but stern face of this young controller, then at the small red, white, and blue boat flag of the Netherlands, floating gaily over the waters of Toba Lake; he looked at the rapidly disappearing canoe of the Battaks, singing as they paddled, who only a few years ago had been savages and occasionally cannibals; he thought of that small country on the North Sea, where the people were forever battling with the elements—the seas and skies—and then verily understood the advice of Coen, "Never despair, for great work is still to be done in the Indies!"

It is planned that by 1927 this work will be entirely left in the hands of the local city and county authorities. But the government by no means intends to relinquish all supervision. There is a general road plan for Java, and the local plans must conform with this and supplement it.

Today the roads have been extended everywhere. They are not makeshifts, but permanent macadamized highways, with reinforced concrete bridges, culverts, etc., of the newest and best designs. In North Celebes (Province of Minahassa) the plans, when completed, will account for three hundred miles of first-class roads; in South Celebes for seventy miles; in Bali one hundred and fifty miles; in Central Timor one hundred and fifty miles, while on the large island of Sumatra fifty-four roads have been projected, most of them already finished or in the course of construction. The total expense will be close to thirty millions; their total length twenty-seven hundred miles. All this is on an island still partly inhabited by half-savage tribes and only recently emerging to the knowledge of better and higher living.

d) Harbors, roadsteads, and shipping.—The care of the harbors and roadsteads, and also with that the care of foreign and domestic shipping, has had the full attention of the government for many years; but especially in late years problems of great magnitude have presented themselves.

In former centuries it was not difficult to take care of the inter-island and foreign shipments. Some

places, like Tjilatjap, Java, had natural harbors, but as shipping was carried on in very small vessels, of light draught (judging by modern standards), the mouths of rivers and creeks could be used everywhere. When shippers began to use larger vessels, it was still possible to use sheltered stretches of water near the river mouths. These stretches were variously sheltered by small islands, coral reefs, and the like, and a lighterage system was maintained from the ships to the shores. While this is still done in some places, foreign commerce has so much expanded that new means had to be devised.

The combined coastline of these islands is, of course, emormous. Someone, loving calculations, has figured that it exceeds in length the circumference of the earth.

In 1918 there arrived at the various harbors and roadsteads a total of 112,900 ships. This includes large and small steamers, sailing vessels, and lighters, with a net capacity of 62,171,000 cubic meters. The total value of the exports carried in these ships was, in 1916, about $350,000,000, and the total value of imports, $200,000,000.

The largest harbors in Java are Tandjong-Priok (Batavia) and Surabaya. The harbor of Tandjong-Priok (Batavia) is a system of harbor basins constructed since 1877. In various years thereafter it was improved and added to. The harbor is connected by a canal, suitable for small vessels, with Batavia proper at a distance of about six miles. In 1917 the

second inner harbor was completed, and a third inner harbor is under construction. This last will admit ships drawing thirty-six feet of water. The harbor of Tandjong-Priok is well worth visiting and studying. Fine railroad accommodations are immediately adjoining, and model quarters for native laborers and dock-workers have likewise been constructed.

Besides a prow harbor, Surabaya, which is the principal shipping point for East Java, is provided with an excellent and safe roadstead. Since 1910 very important works, such as a broad breakwater, warehouses, etc., have been constructed. The outer quay, from the north pier, called the Rotterdam Quay, is thirty-six hundred feet long, with a water depth of forty-four feet, while the inner quay, called the Amsterdam Quay, is twenty-four hundred feet long, and admits ships with a draft of twenty-five feet. Convenient railroad-tracks have been constructed, and a magnificent harbor, with all modern facilities, has been created here.

Among the other large harbors in Java may be mentioned those of Samarang, with its magnificent lighterage harbors, docks, warehouses, and roadsteads. Through this a large commerce flows, mostly derived from Central Java and the principalities of Djokjakarta and Surakarta.

In the outlying possessions we find the harbor of Makassar, on the island of Celebes, the Sabang harbor, on the island of Sabang, the Emma harbor, Padang, and the harbor of Belawan, Deli, the last two on the

island of Sumatra. There are numerous smaller harbors throughout the archipelago.

Shipping has also the attention and encouragement of the Home and Colonial Government, although it is almost entirely in private hands. The Netherlands Steamship Company, the Rotterdam-Lloyd, the Ocean, the Java-China-Japan Line, and the Royal Dutch Packet Company are the principal steamship companies doing foreign and inter-island shipping. In 1918 there arrived under the Netherlands flag 4,104 steamers; under foreign flags 3,360, and the same number (4,104) departed under Dutch flag, and 3,257 departed under foreign flag.[1] Next to the Netherlands shipping interests the British are the most important. While in 1911 only 15 ships under the Japanese flag arrived in Insulinde, this number had increased to 229 in 1918.

Ocean traffic with the United States has likewise increased enormously, and is participated in by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the Robert Dollar Company, both of San Francisco, and the Clan Line and Independent Steamship Company of New York.

Netherlands steamship companies are now maintaining two direct routes to the United States, one called the Java-Pacific Line, the ships of which are plying between the Colonies and San Francisco and other Pacific ports; and the other, known as the Java–New York Line, which goes by way of Durban, Cape of Good Hope, from Batavia to New York. The

[1] All ships over 1,000 tons net.

Royal Packet Company, besides maintaining a direct service to Australian ports, sends its ships between all inter-island points. It has a contract for carrying the inter-island mail, and one hundred and one steamers fly its home flag. Regular service is also maintained by the Java-Bengal Line, the Java–South American Line, and the Java-Antwerp-Hamburg Line.

e) The development of foreign trade.—The government maintains a division of commerce, of the Department of Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce.[1]

This Department, working along general lines, occupies itself principally with the gathering of data and statistics, the furnishing of information, etc. It maintains two sample rooms in the United States, one in New York and one in San Francisco, with other sample rooms and commercial exhibits in Japan, Australia, and South Africa.

The government has likewise founded chambers of commerce, seven in Java and five in the outlying possessions. It publishes a most interesting weekly, in which market reports, lists of importers and exporters, and other valuable information are given.[2]

[1] The chief of the Division of Commerce of this department is Mr. E. de Kruyff, who represented the Netherlands East Indian government at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco. It was principally due to his ability and tireless energy, that the exhibit of Insulinde was a marked success at that great fair.

[2] Private interests have formed commercial organizations called "Handels Vereenigingen," commerce associations, which are likewise doing very effective work. These organizations are very similar to the local boards of trade, or chambers of commerce, in the United States.

Furthermore, it maintains a regular registration office for trade and factory marks, and gives foreign trademarks adequate protection when properly registered.

f) *Mining operations*.—There is a general mining service which includes many activities, such as geological surveying, prospecting, and research work, all of a mineralogical and metallurgical nature. The service publishes a *Year Book* containing valuable information.

The government mines coal at Sawah Loentoh, Tandjong (Sumatra), and at Pulu Laut (Borneo); tin in the island of Banka; and silver and gold at Benkulen, Sumatra.

Connected with the mining office at Batavia is a mineralogical and geological museum, open to all interested parties. Private mining companies are encouraged by the grant of mining concessions on reasonable terms.

g) *Water-power and electricity*.—The government's activities in this branch of the service are controlled by the Department of Water-Power and Electricity. This bureau was instituted in 1917. Originally the problems involved were studied for the purpose of the possible electrification of the state railways. Since that time the scope of the service has been much enlarged, and the whole problem has been taken in hand, including concessions concerning hydraulic power, the supervision of water-power works, etc.

The great hydraulic energy of Insulinde still lies dormant, for the most part, in the different islands. It is the duty of the central office established at Ban-

dong to develop this dormant power in the interest of the state and of private industry. This office has three divisions: the Division of Electricity, the Division of Building, and the Division of Hydrotechnical Power.

Two great completed water-works have already been put in operation, while the work of locating the great sources of water-power in the outlying possessions has the active attention of the bureau.

The work done by this bureau is highly scientific and technical as well as practical, and this department promises to develop into one of the most important of the government's activities. The work is done so effectively that there is very little occasion for "water litigation," which has been so vexing to the owners and promoters of hydraulic projects in many countries. The ancient rights of the natives to water for their rice lands are scrupulously respected.

According to a very rough estimate which does not include the smaller islands, and the as yet little known Dutch Guinea, the minimum capacity of hydraulic power to be developed in Insulinde is 5,500,000 horse-power.[1]

The Netherlands East Indian government is very alert to ascertain the newest developments in scientific industrial fields. Its trained scientists are constantly visiting foreign countries for the purpose of studying foreign methods and comparing them with those applied in the colonies.

[1] See *Sluyters' Monthly* of November, 1920, "Present and Future Utilization of Hydraulic Power."

This service is no exception to the rule. The director in charge, Engineer P. A. Roelofsen, visited the United States within the last year, and carefully studied the most advanced American methods, several of which he applied in the Colonies, after adjusting them to local conditions.

h) *The police system.*—The foregoing pages must have brought to the attention of the reader the great difficulty under which the government is laboring properly to police a country of the extent and complexity of Insulinde. But one of the most important duties of any modern government is to find the proper solution of the policing question, and the Netherlands government has apparently solved this question to the satisfaction of natives and foreigners alike.

To accomplish this three classes of police are maintained:

1. The municipal police forces, corresponding to the city police departments of most American and European towns.

2. The provincial police force, corresponding to what are designated as "county peace officers," such as deputy sheriffs, constables, and deputy constables in the different states of the American Union.

3. The armed police corps which has its counterpart in the State Constabulary maintained in Pennsylvania, or the Northwestern Mounted Police.

The municipal police functions, of course, in the large cities. The higher police officials, known as the police commissioners and deputy commissioners, are

generally Netherlanders, while the members of the department, detectives, and street police are both natives and whites.

The provincial police corps consists largely of natives, the heads being *wedanas*, with assistant *wedanas*, *mantris* police, detectives, post commanders, and general policemen. There is a special school for training and graduating police officers at Batavia.

The armed police corps consists of twenty-two divisions, of which three are in Java, and nineteen in the outlying possessions. It is a semi-military organization, always ready at the call of the civil authorities, and its main duty is to secure peace, tranquillity, and safety throughout the archipelago. It is under a rigid military discipline, is commanded by retired army officers, and its activities cover a field lying between ordinary police duties and the duties of the military forces. It is, however, entirely under the civil branch of the government, and has been of immense value to protect the law-abiding population against raids or other impositions of bad elements.

i) *The prison system.*—The prison system is not different from that which is maintained in the most enlightened countries. Unusual and cruel punishments are banished. There are several penal institutions scattered over the different islands, mostly for natives. There is one penitentiary at Samarang exclusively for white prisoners, while all female prisoners sentenced for more than one year are incarcerated in a special prison maintained at Samarang.

Since 1918 there has been only one penal code under which accused prisoners can be prosecuted and convicted. This is the Penal Code of the Netherlands East Indies, and is operative for white and native people alike. Formerly a distinction was made between the two groups of inhabitants.

All persons sentenced to imprisonment are obliged to work. While some of the labor is performed in the open, such as coolie service, etc., other labor is done in shops provided for this purpose. Among the latter are tailor and shoe shops, tinsmithies, bleaching and dyeing shops, rubber and tile factories, sail-making and button-making establishments, and the like.

There are of course a multitude of other activities, in which the government takes an interest, and which are beneficial to whites and natives alike, as, for instance, care of the insane, encouragement of religious instruction, etc., but it would be tiresome to examine all these separately. We will consider some of the activities enumerated above, which are especially designed to assist large groups of natives.

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES SPECIALLY BENEFICIAL FOR THE NATIVES

a) *Native banking.*—Oriental people are either notoriously improvident, or notoriously frugal and mercenary. To the former class belong most, if not all, of the native inhabitants of Insulinde. To the latter belong many of the foreign Orientals residing there, especially the Arabs and Chinese. The Arabs in par-

ticular are often usurers, and the government, as a paternal one, endeavors to protect the natives against them.

There are at the present time three kinds of native credit institutions: (1) the village rice credit banks; (2) the village cash credit banks; (3) the provincial, divisional, or district banks. The first are owned by the native communities where they operate, but under a set of regulations generally drawn up by the resident or other Netherlands official. The directors are usually three farmers of the village, and the dessa-head or native village mayor.

These little banks were especially intended to take care of the storage of rice, to prevent local shortage, etc. As a great deal of the business was done *in natura*, and modern methods are now replacing the older ones, these rice banks are gradually diminishing in number, the regular credit banks taking their place. In 1918 there were still 10,385 rice banks in operation, and they had 167,122 tons of rice under their administration.

The village cash credit banks are slowly superseding the rice credit banks. The funds are local deposits, and the amounts borrowed are usually very small. Sometimes such banks take the form of co-operative societies, and most of them maintain cash balances in the provincial banks.

Although these financial institutions are still in their infancy, they are growing rapidly in importance, and the time does not seem to be far distant when they

will be the principal credit institutions for the small *warong*-keeper, the farmer, and the craftsman. In 1918 there were about twenty-eight hundred of them in operation with various assets.

The provincial, divisional, or district banks resemble the country banks in the United States. The directors are both Europeans and natives, some drawn from official and some from private life. Profit-making by the directors is barred, and the institutions are run on a strictly business basis. The tendency is to eliminate the officials as quickly as possible, and draw the directors entirely from the clientele of the bank. Management of these banks is in the hands of a director or manager, who has a mixed native and European staff.

The banks are started with governmental aid, the first capital being furnished by the government as a loan. Many of them are still aided in this manner. The real capital is formed from surplus earnings, so-called "reserves," as the original incorporators were not called upon to put up cash capital, which in many cases would have been impossible.

In 1918 there were eighty-three provincial or divisional banks in operation, with assets and deposits of nearly thirty million guilders.

In order to foster the growth of the banks the government has instituted a central bank of popular credit, generally known as "Central Cash." This bank is located in Batavia, and works with a capital of five million guilders. The management is intrusted

to a director and a supervisory board. It is really a Reserve Bank of the popular credit banks. It not only furnishes capital when necessary, but also gives advice for the operation of the local banks. In 1918 the Central Cash Bank granted credits to sixty-seven of the subordinate banks.

b) *Pawnshops.*—In many of the American cities efforts have been made to curb the usurious activities of pawnbrokers. In some places charitably inclined citizens have established remedial loan societies or other institutions, where money can be obtained in small amounts at reasonable rates of interest. These efforts, no matter how well-meaning, are only palliatives and not cures. The government of Insulinde has found a practical solution of this vexing question by making pawnshop business a state monopoly.

The reorganization of this business began in 1903 and was gradually extended until 1917, when the last licensed pawnshop ceased to exist. No one is now allowed to make a loan under one hundred guilders against any pledge, except the official pawnshop, better called the "People's Loan Bank on Personal Property Pledges."

How great was the necessity for such an institution is proved by the fact that in 1918, in the 352 established pawnshops, 44,816,673 individual loans were made. The amount loaned was close to one hundred and twenty million guilders. Only 10 per cent of the articles pawned were not redeemed, and had to be sold at public auction. The net profits to the state

were about 7 per cent of the amount loaned.[1] All small loans proved to be an actual loss to the government, partly on account of the heavy expense of a complicated administration. The profits were made on the larger loans. The net profits amounted to only twenty cents, Dutch currency, on each loan.[2]

When unredeemed articles are sold, the possible surplus is kept for one year at the disposal of the borrower. After that time it reverts to the general funds.

c) Native health regulations.—Oriental people are, from our Western standpoint, notoriously if not hopelessly, insanitary.[3] The health regulations of Insulinde are under the supervision of the Civil Medical Service, which is divided into: (1) the general governmental medical and sanitary supervision; and (2) the care of the ill.

The first branch is under the direction of an inspector-in-chief, who in turn is assisted by health inspectors. A large staff of Netherlands and native physicians assists the inspectors, whose first duty is the prevention of the spreading of contagious diseases.

The first line of defense includes the harbor health authorities and quarantine stations. This quarantine

[1] In 1918 the profits amounted to about nine million guilders.

[2] Eight cents in American money.

[3] The natives in Java wash often and industriously, but they are not particular as to the water which they use for their ablutions. One often sees men and women bathing in a stream which neighboring towns use as an open sewer. The writer saw a native wash and brush his teeth in a stream while a few feet above other natives were blissfully responding to different calls of nature.

is not only against foreign countries, but also inter-island. The second line of defense is the interior health inspection. The service is intrusted with stamping out local epidemics, improvement of sanitary conditions, etc.

Statistics of mortality are kept by the district physicians in charge, and as soon as the charts show an unusual rise in the mortality of a district or village, the cause is investigated.

At Weltevreden a general vaccine and serum institute is maintained, where various serums are prepared, including those against hydrophobia, typhus, snake bites, tetanus, dysentery, cholera, etc. In years gone by smallpox was a scourge of these islands. Now the institute prepares and distributes a weekly supply of vaccine throughout Insulinde, which is sufficient to keep the whole population vaccinated at proper intervals. In 1918 almost eight million of the natives were vaccinated. Special native vaccinators operate under the supervision of the Netherlands and native physicians. In addition, a rigid pharmaceutical inspection is maintained under the direction of a graduate inspector. Europeans as well as natives fall under the rules of these different inspection services.

The second branch of the service—care of the ill—is fostered by the establishment and maintenance of government hospitals and the holding of polyclinics.

In the smaller towns native hospitals are found, where indigent native patients are treated free of charge, while central municipal hospitals are

maintained by the government in Batavia, Samarang, and Surabaya. They compare favorably with great modern medical institutions. At each a training school for native nurses is maintained. At Batavia and Surabaya the students find an opportunity for practical training as native physicians.

d) Agricultural information service.—The agricultural information service is maintained for the purpose of disseminating directly among the native farmers the knowledge obtained by the colleges of agriculture and other technical experimental institutions. It therefore corresponds somewhat to the university extension work done by the agricultural colleges of the different state universities of the United States. Only the service is much more intensive and comprehensive, coming into closer contact with actual farmer problems.

Insulinde is divided for these instruction purposes into thirty departments. At the head of each department stands a graduate agricultural engineer. The staff of this service is both European and native. In 1918 the European members consisted of nineteen agricultural instructors, one adviser, seventeen teachers, and eleven overseers, while the native staff consisted of forty-nine instructors and eight employees.

The service is very close to the people, instruction being given right on the ground. The officials' duties are most comprehensive, including advice to the farmers on all economic questions, the laying out of

TERRACED RICE FIELDS, JAVA

CINCHONA (QUININE) PLANTATION

nurseries, the combating of plant diseases and plagues, the establishment of experimental fields, etc.[1]

e) *Irrigation.*—Irrigation is considered of such importance that each resident has the immediate supervision and management of it in his residency. The technical part of the work is in charge of a special governmental department, the Department of Irrigation. It is the duty of the engineer of this department to divide the water so that each district will receive its due amount; the distribution within the district is left as far as possible to the farmers themselves.

In Java there are seven distinct irrigation districts, and the water is so divided that native farmers have a sufficient supply to be used mostly for their rice crops, and the large agricultural industries of the Europeans are furnished with enough water to be used mostly in sugar- and tobacco-growing. New irrigation works, such as reservoirs, dams, intakes, etc., are constantly

[1] Agriculture, in the form of rice-growing, is practiced on a huge scale, as far as the general results are concerned, but these results are made up of the individual efforts of innumerable small native rice-growers. The government, fully realizing the values of mass production, has made a determined effort to experiment in the production of rice on large tracts of land. For this purpose the present Director of the Department of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, the Honorable Mr. J. B. Sibinga Mulder, requested Mr. M. B. Smits, an agricultural expert connected with this department, to visit the United States and carefully study the most improved methods employed in California, Texas, Louisiana, etc. As a consequence considerable American agricultural machinery of the latest and most improved design was ordered. Experiments are conducted by the government on a large scale, in rice culture in the Palembang district (Sumatra), while in the Bandjermasin district (Borneo) vast grounds are being prepared for the culture of rice under modern irrigation and cultivation methods.

being constructed. In 1919 twenty-four important irrigation works were under way, while plans were projected for several more. In Bali there are some works which were constructed solely by the natives, but generally speaking, Netherlands hydraulic engineering skill is the leading factor in the situation.

For instance, in Java alone there are almost one million, five hundred thousand acres under irrigation of permanently constructed works. In addition there are 800,000 acres being irrigated by temporary works, which will be replaced by permanent works, while irrigation works are under construction which will take care of about a million and a quarter more acres. During the last five years the government spent over forty-eight million guilders on this service alone.

f) Civil veterinary service.—The health of live stock has the very careful consideration of the government. This service is under the direction of an inspector-in-chief, whose staff consists of four assistant inspectors, forty veterinary surgeons, twenty-four assistant veterinary surgeons, four native veterinary surgeons, two hundred thirty-seven native inspectors, and one special instructor of shoeing.

The live stock, whose health is in the keeping of this service, consists of 4,000,000 head of beef, stock cattle and dairy cows, 2,500,000 buffaloes, 300,000 horses, 3,000,000 goats, 2,500,000 sheep, and 1,000,000 hogs.

Besides the actual care of the health of these animals, of which more than 90 per cent belong to the natives, it is the duty of the inspectors to improve

the strain of the stock by the importation of thoroughbred stallions, bulls, cows, etc. This is done on a large scale; for instance, in 1914, five hundred thoroughbred cows were imported from Ongole (Madras). These soon gave two hundred young thoroughbred bulls for breeding, etc. Sandalwood stallions were likewise imported for the Preanger Regencies (near Batavia) and for the island of Sumatra. The inspectors use quarantine measures wherever necessary, and the benefical result of the activities of this service is observable throughout Insulinde.

g) *Fisheries.*—The paternal government at Batavia has not overlooked the importance of fisheries, to provide food for the population. A fishery division was instituted, which operates as a bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, while a laboratory of deep-sea fishing research is likewise maintained, where trained scientists do work of the highest order.

To foster the industry of deep-sea fishing, it was necessary to teach the people the use of modern fishing tackle and accessories. Before these could be used successfully, it was necessary to construct modern fishermen's harbors. This has been done; also six fishing associations were founded with government-loaned capital. Two of them have already repaid the advanced capital and are now operating on their own capital, accumulated from surplus profits. These associations make loans to their members, the native fishermen, and otherwise foster the industry.

Fishing-banks have been established with capital advanced by the government, at a yearly interest charge of 5 per cent, and these banks are also doing fine work by extending cheap credits to their clients. In a country where usury has ceased to be a vice, but has been elevated to a fine art, such institutions are doing untold good. In Java alone there are fish ponds covering over one hundred thousand acres, and practically all owned by the natives. Fish of many varieties are grown here, and an Institute for Inland Fisheries is maintained at Tasik Malaja. Finally, a fish technologist has been appointed by the government, and it is his duty to advise the natives in regard to the proper preservation of fish, such as salting, etc.

h) *Forestry*.—Deforestation has been one of the most serious blights inflicted on many tropical and semi-tropical countries. Spain, for instance, has been a sufferer from this national misuse for centuries, its climate, water supply, etc., having been materially affected. While in the last ten years the question of scientific reforestation has had the active attention of the American government and the American people, the Netherlands government in Insulinde was fully alive to its importance eighty years ago. As cultivation advanced, as plantations of tea, rubber, etc., in the foothills made continuous inroads on the virgin forests, the soil of which was particularly adapted to this cultivation, it was necessary to counterbalance this destruction of native lumber by planting forests in other localities.

The care of the forests in Insulinde is intrusted to a special forest service. For more than seventy years, trained forest officials have been employed in this service. It is especially in Java, where the needs of course were most keenly felt, that this service has reached its highest development. There is not yet a practical "forest question" in the outlying possessions. The duties of the forest service are very extensive. An endeavor is made to cover the whole situation, and the following matters have the skilled attention of its officials: forest organization, forest management, forest guard, and scientific forestry research.

The first of these subjects covers the regulation of the forest boundaries, the adoption of exploitation schemes, etc. The second includes exploitation, reforestation, and new plantings on new soil.

The forests of Java are divided into: (1) the teak forests, both natural and artificial; (2) the other forests, known as wild timber forests.

The teak forests are also known as *djati* forests, (*Tectona gradis* L.). These forests are chiefly found in the regions of the lower hills, generally less than two thousand feet above sea-level. The timber does not need rich soil, but abhors swampiness or impenetrability. The lumber is much in demand on account of its durability and because it withstands the white ants. It is used in great quantities in the tropics for shipbuilding, houses, furniture, railroad ties, etc.

The forests have been exploited for centuries, but about 1840 the government awoke to the desirability

of putting trained forest scientists in charge. Several forms of experimentation were tried, until the present forest-agricultural system was adopted, which allows the natives to plant catch crops between the rows of the young teak trees. After a period of five or ten years (depending on the growth made), the first thinning takes place, and each year this thinning grows in importance. The forest is generally "ripe" for total cutting in eighty years after the planting. Then a series of tramways and monorails is constructed to remove the timber. In 1918 there were about one million seven hundred and fifty thousand acres of teakwood in Java. In the previous five years, the forest service had replanted about eighty-five thousand acres. In that year alone, the teak forest of Java furnished 218,693 cubic meters of first-class timber, or, in accordance with American measurements, about sixty million running board feet, while over half a million cords of stove wood were produced.[1]

[1] The yearly cut is generally sold at auction or by sealed bids. While Tjepu, Java, is the central market-place for teak, a large amount of the wood is prepared for the market at Samarang, one of the loveliest cities in Insulinde. Samarang has a suburban residence district, named Tjandi, situated on a hill overlooking Samarang proper. Here many of the more prosperous citizens have their residences. Not far from Tjandi is another small residence city named Salatiga, which, on account of its elevation, has a very agreeable climate. Here is the home of Baron C. W. van Heeckeren, the president of the great Samarang Administration Bureau, which operates the famous quinine factory at Bandong, discussed elsewhere.

In Samarang, the writer had the good fortune to receive the personal attention of Mr. A. Mees, one of the leading merchants of

i) The wild timber forests.—The total area of Java's virgin forests is about thirty million acres, of which about three million are in permanent forest reserves.

Bare mountain slopes are constantly reforested by artificial planting under the guidance of the forest

---

that city, to whose courtesy and influence it was due that a thorough inspection could be made of the leading industrial plants in that neighborhood, including the modern and up-to-date plant of the great Hardwood Lumber Industry. Representatives of this corporation had visited the United States, and a complete modern lumbering plant and mill had been installed, with the latest electrical devices. This mill reminds one of the largest lumber mills in the western states of the Union. Huge teakwood logs, a very heavy lumber, of course, are handled with the greatest ease.

It was explained by the manager, who was kind enough to act as guide throughout the visit to this plant, that many American mechanics and foremen had been employed in the beginning to instal and operate the new machinery, and to direct the different crews. From a technical standpoint their service was very satisfactory. They experienced, however, a great deal of trouble in the management of the native crews under them, and seemed often puzzled that the superintendents of divisions demanded courteous and decent treatment of the natives, at the hands of the men over them.

Anyone who has been on the ranches, in the camps and plants in the western parts of the United States, and has seen the rough and ready way in which an "efficient" foreman handles his crews, and has heard the contemptuous way in which he spoke to or about his "hunkies," will readily understand the difficulty which arose when these methods were tried in Insulinde.

The Netherlands managers are very anxious not to create breeding-places for native I.W.W.'s, and hence stop any and all strong-arm arguments on the part of the foremen.

As a matter of curiosity it may be noted here that the same difficulty was experienced with several of the American bore-masters and foremen in the oil fields of Java. After a while they were either obliged to quit or accept the wisdom of kindly treatment, in which case complaints were no longer heard.

experts. In these new plantings, varieties are selected which are important not only from a hydrological standpoint, but also because they will eventually produce a superior timber.

The felling of wild timber, both by natives and by those who have acquired long-time leases, is under the supervision of the Forest Service, which likewise orders and controls reforestation wherever desirable.

The staff of the forest service consists of one inspector-in-chief, eight inspectors, one director of the Experimental Station, 106 trained foresters and assistant foresters, 337 overseers, assistant overseers, and student overseers, 494 native guards, belonging to the forest police, and 774 forest watchmen.

CHAPTER XI. INSULINDE OF TODAY, *Concluded*

Government, a paternal one—Great power of private industries—Netherlands East Indian Company hostile to outside capital—Forced cultivation system also hostile—Last seventy years attitude changed—Present broad scope for development—Investments mostly agricultural-industrial—Difficulties to be overcome—Sugar industry—Tobacco industry—Quinine industry—Tea industry—Petroleum industry—Rubber industry—The long-lease land system—Protection given to industries—Dangers of losing land—Policy of government to keep land for natives—Remnant lands in fee simple—Division of lands—Those under direct government rule—Those under qualified rule—Laws governing leasing under each division—Long leases—Concessions

INSULINDE OF TODAY, *Concluded*

IF THE foregoing pages have given the reader the idea that the development of Insulinde is entirely or mainly dependent on government effort, the writer must apologize for causing such an erroneous impression. The government, being a paternal one (more so in the immediate past than at present), it is but natural that government influence and direction are much more felt in guiding the destinies of the country and its people, the shaping of their prosperity, and the acceleration of their evolution, than would be the case if the people were ripe for a more advanced democracy. But for all that, in modern times the real power for sustained and progressive development must be determined by and derived from the energy engendered by individual enterprise and industry.

The Netherlands East Indian Company was far from hospitably inclined during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries toward "outside capital." On the contrary it was decidedly hostile to it, for it desired, and generally obtained, a monopoly.

After the colonies had been acquired by the state the prevailing desire to introduce the forced-cultivation system, and thereby produce state revenue, was likewise not conducive to private enterprise in the colonies.[1] For the last seventy years, however, this

[1] For nearly half a century (since 1875) the treasury of the mother country has failed to receive any contribution from the treasury of Insulinde. Before 1875 regular contributions, averaging

whole attitude has slowly but definitely changed, with the result that Insulinde today offers both Netherlands and foreign capital wide scope for development and investment.

As Insulinde is principally a great agricultural-industrial country, these investments have largely taken the form of extensive plantations. In most instances the necessary manufacturing plants to make the product available for shipment to distant markets were likewise established.

At the end of 1919 the number of estates where perennial crops are grown, such as essential oils, kapok, cocoanut oil, cinchona, coffee, oil palms, rubber, tea, and fibrous plants was forty-five. The total acreage actually under cultivation was 577,000 hectares, being equal to 1,442,500 acres. Sugar and tobacco, being annual crops, are not included in these statements.

The greatest number of estates are found in the Preanger Regencies immediately south of Batavia, where 289 are operated. The next largest number are on the east coast of Sumatra, where there are 233. Although these estates are fewer in number, they are greater in extent than those in the Preanger Regencies. The former cover about four hundred thousand acres, while the latter cover two hundred and fifty thousand.

---

between four and six million dollars yearly, were made by the colonies to the mother country. Today the finances of the colonies are, as they have been for many years, entirely separate, and Insulinde's public means are used exclusively for Insulinde's benefit.

The average estate in Insulinde consists of about one thousand acres. In 1919 the percentage of total acres under cultivation which had reached the producing stage were: cocoa, 67 per cent; coca, 95 per cent; kapok, 38 per cent; cinchona, 81 per cent; cocoanut, 31 per cent; coffee, 75 per cent; oil palm, 35 per cent; rubber, 64 per cent; tea, 64 per cent; fibrous plants, 75 per cent.

These agricultural-industrial enterprises are many and various. The history of the birth, growth, and flowering of each of these white men's enterprises is an epic by itself. Untold difficulties had to be overcome, great energy, foresight, and patience had to be exercised. It was not only the untamed forces of wild nature which had to be subjugated, but also the inertia and sloth of the population, and the cunning and graft of their leaders. Instinctive opposition to new conditions and many other antagonistic agencies had to be laid bare and conquered.

It would take us too far afield even to describe each of these white men's industries, let alone to trace in all details their history, growth, and present condition. It must be sufficient to devote a few pages to this very important side of colonial life—just sufficient to show the tremendous influence that these industries have exerted in the past and are exerting now on the people, their economic condition, and their growth in Insulinde.

Sugar.—The principal industry of the islands is the growing and manufacturing of sugar cane. The

bald truth has been many times stated that, if it were not for the manufacture of sugar, Insulinde would be a burden to the mother country. It has been stated with equal force and truth that the sugar industry of Java is suspended above destruction by a rope of sand. The truth of this assertion is easily ascertained by a comparative study of the land laws affecting Java and those affecting other countries where sugar is grown and manufactured.

The world's sugar is principally obtained from sugar cane or sugar beets. In countries other than Java, where sugar is derived from crushing cane, as in the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, Cuba, and the southern states of the United States, the factory stands on land owned in fee simple absolute, and the company usually owns large tracts of land on which the cane is raised. While in some of these countries the factory management prefers to have its own agricultural department and to raise its own cane on its own land, local conditions often make it possible to rent part of these lands to experienced tenant farmers, who raise sugar cane thereon for a contract price under general factory supervision.

This system is also quite largely followed by beet sugar companies, especially in the western part of the United States. Almost invariably the sugar companies own large tracts of land in the immediate neighborhood and either take the planting of these lands under their own management, or furnish seeds, implements, etc., and often irrigation water to the

tenant farmers, who then either raise beets to be delivered at a stated price (based on the percentage of sugar and coefficient of roughness), or otherwise raise the beets on shares. The factory, of course, buys beets offered by outside farmers also, but the ownership and control of these tracts of land assure each individual sugar-mill a sufficient supply of beets or cane, in the event that the independent farmer, for some reason or other, desires to devote his lands to different crops.

In Insulinde, and particularly in Java where all the sugar-mills are located, there is quite another story.

In the first place no European or American individual or corporation can own any land.[1] The native is and must remain the landowner, save and except for the ground on which the factory itself and the immediately surrounding yards are situated.

In some parts of Java there exists native ownership of land, which is hereditary and approaches a fee simple absolute; while in other parts there is ownership in common by the village, the latter ownership being divided into two classes, viz.: those villages where each villager has a designated and definite piece of ground with a usufructory right, and those where periodically, generally every year, new divisions are made.

[1] With the very few exceptions hereinbefore indicated, which lands are however progressively reacquired by the government by taxation.

In maintaining this form of land tenure, in accordance with the old *adat* and usages, the Netherlands law-givers prove their statesmanlike vision.

The great majority of the natives in Java are most improvident, and consequently always hard up for cash. It would therefore be only a short while before they would fall prey to rapaciously inclined white men as well as foreign Orientals, and be divested of their rights to the soil, with the result that soon the multitude of dessamen would form a great army of agricultural proletariat. That this is not an idly conceived danger is proved by the fact that some of the shrewder natives seem to be able, often by usury, to acquire quite extensive holdings in places where land can be owned in fee.

But while this land system proves beneficial to the natives it makes the investment of capital for the manufacturer of sugar far more precarious in Java than in other sugar-producing countries. It is therefore but natural that capital, under these circumstances, should demand a larger return, part of which is considered as an insurance premium against the possible loss which ever threatens the industry.

Sugar, like tobacco, is most exclusively raised on the level valley land where fields can be irrigated and are free from changing temperatures. This precludes new sugar enterprises from taking up wild government land under long leaseholds, but compels the raising of the sugar cane on lands which otherwise would be

used by the population as *sawahs*, or rice fields. Too great an extension of the industry might, therefore, threaten the food supply of the natives. The government consequently has thrown a great many restrictions around such land-leasing by sugar companies, the object being to prevent leasing more land for European agricultural-industrial purposes than is for the best interest of the native population, especially in view of ever-increasing food costs.

No lease is valid unless approved by the controller, that is, the government administrator of the district, whose special duty it is to look after and protect the interests of the natives. After the controller has approved the lease, it must have the further approval of the assistant resident. That functionary may refuse to grant his approval for several reasons:

a) If the ground is leased from a dessa, the land of which is held in common, and if one-third of all the tenants in common should object.

b) If more than one-third of the *sawahs* (rice fields) are contracted for.

c) If there is reason to believe that the natives do not quite understand the conditions of the leases, or have been in any way imposed upon.

In the last few years a new law has gone into effect by which a minimum rent has been established. That means that no lease is valid unless the native receives in cash, for rent, the equivalent of what he would have received had the land been devoted to native cropping.

About one million acres are devoted to this industry, about one-third of which is planted yearly. During the active months of the industry about seven hundred and fifty thousand natives find remunerative employment in the sugar fields, and about one hundred thousand more in the mills.

From the very fact that such huge numbers of natives are employed, and that the mills are compelled to pay yearly rents, it is obvious that an important part of the return from the sale price of sugar remains in the islands, and while the government realizes, on one hand, that continuous protection of the natives against the sugar-mills' management is necessary, on the other hand, it is alive to the fact that regulating these industries to such an extent that capital would no longer be attracted, would mean killing the goose which lays the golden egg, for white man and native alike.

In 1919 there were 179 of these mills in operation, producing a total of 1,336,112 tons of sugar. The principal customers for this huge amount of sugar were Japan (364,176 tons), Calcutta (213,350 tons), Great Britain (212,624 tons), and Hongkong (206,708 tons).

The industry is organized on the most scientific lines. At Samarang and other places it maintains an "experimental station for the sugar industry." This experimental station has a division for agricultural affairs, a technical, and a chemical division. A visit to the station is of absorbing interest. It is difficult to imagine anything more thoroughly competent and

complete in experimental and control work. One could not meet scientists who are more courteous, able, or enthusiastic in the discharge of their duties than the gentlemen in charge of the different divisions of this important station.

While each large sugar-mill in Java has its general manager, to whom the heads of departments make their daily reports, these general managers in turn report daily to the experimental station. Here all the returns are carefully tabulated and checked over. If it is found that the returns of any of the mills are not up to the very highest standard, an "advice" is immediately sent by telegram to the mills' general manager, who can then confer with his mechanical engineer, his chemical engineer, or his agricultural manager, in an effort to locate the difficulty. If it is not promptly found, and the slack taken up, an expert is dispatched from the station. He generally reaches the mill within twenty-four hours, and gives the necessary advice and assistance. Throughout the campaign this work is conscientiously kept up.

During the month of August, 1919, the writer was given the opportunity of thoroughly inspecting this station. Two of the division directors were kind enough to conduct him through the splendid experimental buildings, offices, etc.

It was quite a novel sight to see native office employees successfully using a great number of the most complicated American office devices, such as tabulating machines, calculating machines, phonetic

typewriters, etc. "Efficiency" was written with large letters over the whole institution.

One of the many model sugar factories in Java represented at this institution is situated near Djokjakarta. It is known as Bantool, and engineer P. W. M. Trap is the general manager. Under the guidance of this efficient and kindly gentleman the writer, who had seen many of the largest sugar-mills in the world, was given the opportunity of intimately acquainting himself with the processes in use. In this sugar-mill, as in most, if not all of those operating in Java, the very latest scientific methods are applied in the most practical way.

Tobacco.—Tobacco has had the attention of the European planters for a long time. While it has been cultivated in a great many places, at present the east coast of Sumatra (Deli) and the principalities of Java (Djokjakarta and Surakarta, and Bezuki, in the eastern part of Java) are the chief localities where tobacco is raised on a large scale for the European markets.

Tobacco culture is likewise the subject of most careful attention from agricultural experts. While formerly tobacco was easily grown on virgin soil where the forests had just been removed, as in Sumatra today, the utmost attention is paid to irrigation, drainage, artificial fertilizing, seed selection, etc., so that other lands may be utilized.

During the war the export of tobacco was much curtailed. In 1914 it was about sixty-five thousand

tons, in 1915 about eighty-two thousand tons, in 1916 close to one hundred thousand tons. Since then there has been a slump in the export.

Amsterdam is the great market for this product.[1]

Coffee.—Java coffee, or Java-Mocha, is well known in all English-speaking countries. Under the enforced cultivation system (*cultuur stelsel*) special attention was given to this crop, as it promised to become the most profitable.

The industry has had its ups and downs. Among the latter a leaf disease caused by a fungus—the *Himeleia Vestratrix*—deserves special mention. At one time the inroads of this fungus were so severe that it was feared the whole industry would be wiped out.

The old and reliable *coffea arabica* proved to be an easy prey. All kinds of experiments were indulged in to stop the ravages caused by this plant pest, such as extra fertilizing, heavy pruning, etc. Finally the

[1] During the writer's visit in Insulinde in 1919, two large tobacco plantations were visited, one situated near Djokjakarta, named "Sorogedoog," of which Mr. J. J. Struben is general manager, and where a very high state of tobacco culture has been attained; the other near Deli, Sumatra. The latter was visited under the guidance of the Honorable V. Obdeijn, assistant resident at Medan, who at the request of Governor Grijzen had courteously consented to be our guide. While the labor on the former plantation consists entirely of free Javanese, the work on the latter was mostly done by coolie contract labor. This consisted partly of Chinese and partly of Javanese. The Javanese men and women working there appeared to be well fed and happy, and seemed to receive as kind treatment as they could enjoy in their native habitat. Moreover, their wages were very much higher.

importation of hybrid coffee plants, such as the *liberia* and *robusta*, proved to be the most promising remedy. Today the industry is again flourishing, and Java coffee is exported to all parts of the world.

The crop in 1918 was:

	Arabica	*Liberia*	*Robusta*	Sundries	Total
Java.....	42,582	17,487	797,986	24,056	882,111
Sumatra.....	68,686	2,154	121,204	1,571	193,615
Bali and Celebes....	75,001	1,183	2,643	12	78,839
Total....	196,269	20,824	921,833	25,639	1,154,565

The weights in the foregoing table are all piculs, one picul being equal to 136 pounds. The total of the coffee crop was therefore 157,020,840 pounds.

The coffee of commerce is of course the dried part of the berry. The preparation of these berries, after they are picked, is most important. Several methods are followed, each taking considerable labor. The cultivation and final production of coffee therefore gives employment to a multitude of native laborers, not to speak of the many small farmers who raise coffee for local consumption, or for sale to the exporters. Amsterdam is the main market for this product also.

Quinine.—One of Java's industries which attracted world-attention during the Great War is the quinine industry. This enormous industry, which has proved of untold value to humanity, is purely of governmental conception and birth.

JAVANESE WOMEN PICKING COFFEE

Kina, or quinine, first drew the attention of the white race in 1638 when Countess del Chinchona, the wife of the Spanish Viceroy of Peru, was suffering from persistent and malignant fevers. She was given a dry powder as medicine by Don Juan Lopez de Cauizores, who had learned the secret of this cure from the natives. The medicine administered had the desired effect, and the noble lady became the "booster" of this new medicament. After her it was called chinchona or cinchona, and sometimes "Powder of the Countess." Later it was known as "Powder of the Jesuits."

About thirty or forty varieties of trees, the bark of which was pulverized, proved to have this medical value. All of them grew in the Andes mountain forests from Bolivia to Ecuador, at an elevation of 4,500 to 7,000 feet. For years these trees were cut down whenever quinine was needed, and the fear gained ground that eventually the supply would be destroyed by the ever-growing demand.

In 1829 Dr. Blume proposed to plant some of the trees in Java, but it was not until 1852 that the botanical garden of the University of Leyden sent the first two small quinine plants to Java. As these small plants found a congenial climate and surrounding in Java, the botanical expert, Hesskart, was sent as a special representative to South America. He succeeded in bringing back 500 plants to Batavia, 367 of which survived. The Dutch government, with its usual foresight, had sent a warship to Peru to

bring the botanist and these valuable plants to Insulinde.

Many trees were propagated from these original plants; in fact as many as 130,000, but they did not prove to be of the best variety.

In 1865 Mr. George Ledger, an Englishman, succeeded in acquiring a large package of seeds of cinchona trees, part of which were sold to the Netherlands East Indian government. The trees grown from these seeds proved a success, on account of their high qualities for the production of quinine, and in honor of Mr. Ledger they were called Ledgeriana. They belong to the family of the *Rubiaceae*, to which coffee also belongs.

Cinchona trees grow at an altitude of 4,000 to 6,000 feet above sea-level. Grounds exceptionally fertile allow the successful growth of the trees as low as 3,000 feet, but this is not the general rule. The trees grow best on gently sloping ground in a damp climate. They need an average yearly rainfall of 100 inches.

As fresh forest grounds are best for the cultivation of quinine, the plantations of this, as well as of tea, coffee, and rubber, may be located on the wild government lands and do not encroach on the native *sawahs* of the low lands.

The time when the bark from the young trees may be first collected depends entirely on the space in which the trees are grown. If the trees are four feet apart, it is generally considered that in the third year

(that is five years after seeding) the first crop may be taken by reducing each tree to one stem, and removing all the lower branches. The following year thinning out may begin by selection, the rule of experts being to thin out often and on a scientific and selective basis.

The bark, as a general rule, is divided into factory bark and pharmaceutical bark. The latter is obtained by peeling off pieces as large as possible with a knife. These are then graded in certain lengths and thicknesses. They are rolled up like pipes and shipped in bundles.

Factory bark is packed in sacks made of jute fiber after it has first been crushed on a wooden block by hand, or ground by motor-power in a mill. This dry bark is pressed in bales of two hundred pounds.

The writer had the privilege of observing the quinine industry from the moment the seeds are placed in the beds until the manufactured article is placed in especially prepared tubes. For that purpose he was hospitably and kindly received on the "Soekawana" plantation of cinchona trees, situated in the foothills above Bandong, in the Preanger Regencies. Bandong has an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the climate is delightful. In the evening European clothes are worn with comfort. The plantation in question was situated about five thousand feet above sea-level.

The manager, Mr. J. J. Holtzapffel, courteously explained and demonstrated the tedious processes

necessary to grow the desired trees; the seed beds, their protection against the morning cold and hot afternoon suns; the transplanting of the young plants from seed beds to nursery rows; afterward from there to permanent places in the cleared forest grounds; their cultivation and protection during growth; then the thinning out, the cutting of the trees, and the peeling of the bark. The latter process reminds one strongly of the process of obtaining tan oak bark in the United States hill districts. Finally, the pounding of the bark into a powder was shown, and the baling and shipping of the same to the great factory at Bandong or to the godowns, where it would be further shipped as cinchona bark to European markets.

By 1873 the first quinine was brought to Amsterdam and sold at public auction—410 pounds at about two dollars a pound. While the culture of quinine was, in its inception, a government-fostered enterprise, private interest soon took hold, and the industry was extended to an enormous degree. In 1919 the export of cinchona bark from Java was about twelve million pounds from January to October, while in the same period about one million one hundred thousand pounds of manufactured quinine were likewise exported from Java. About 90 per cent of the quinine used in the world is now supplied by Insulinde.

At Bandong an enormous quinine factory has been established. Although this factory is absolutely closed to visitors, the writer and his party received special permission to see it under the personal guid-

ance of its director, Mr. J. van den Bos. It is here that huge quantities of cinchona bark are made into sulphate of quinine, white or gray, to conform with the requirements of the different standard pharmacopias. American factory efficiency is here blended with careful, scientific Holland management, and this factory offers one of the most impressive industrial sights in the Orient.

The chief alkaloids found in quinine bark are quinine, quindine, chinchonidine, cenchonine, quena-acid, qunamine, and a few others.

An estimate of the amount of suffering which was alleviated during the Great War by this Javanese quinine baffles computation. Verily the foresight of the Netherlands government in 1852 has been of untold benefit to humanity during this crucial period.

Insulinde offers an additional number of other industries, in agricultural and mineral lines, such as the production of vegetable oils,[1] copra and copra cakes, tapioca, indigo, coca and cacao, tin, gold, coal,

[1] The manufacturing and export of copra oil has received a tremendous impetus during the last few years. The cocoanut palm, from which copra oil is derived, is a native of Insulinde where it is called *kalapa*. It belongs to the family of fan palms. It is essentially a native culture, as a great number of these valuable palms are grown by the natives on their own lands. Since the middle of the last century large new plantations have also been started on long-lease government lands, and for extraction of the oil there are now factories with up-to-date machinery, etc. The value of the export from Java and Madura alone was, in 1919, as follows: for copra oil, 67,279,244 florins, or $26,911,697; for copra cakes, 5,679,429 florins, or $2,371,771; and for dried copra, 39,441,748 florins, or $15,776,992—a total of about forty-three million dollars.

etc., all of which greatly influence the development of the Colonies. But there are three industries which deserve special mention, as they have been developed in huge proportions entirely due to Netherlands enterprise, to-wit: (*a*) the tea industry; (*b*) the petroleum and allied industries; (*c*) the rubber industry.

Tea.—Tea was introduced in 1826, when a Dutch physician in Japan sent seeds to the botanical garden at Buitenzorg. A small start with tea culture was made in the next year when the tea expert of the Netherlands Trading Society, Mr. J. Jacobson, arrived in Java, after having studied in Canton. He returned to China for further investigations and in 1829 sent a collection of Chinese tea seeds and plants to Java. In 1832 he returned to Insulinde, bringing with him two Chinese tea experts.

Up to 1842 the tea industry remained a government monopoly, but after that the culture of tea was opened to private enterprise.

At first the fragrant Chinese tea was almost exclusively cultivated, but in 1878 the tea plant of Assam was imported. This lent itself better to the production of tea leaves in greater quantities. Today the *Assamica* in pure and hybrid form is almost exclusively cultivated in Insulinde.

While tobacco and sugar are mostly grown on the level, irrigated lands, and therefore almost entirely on rented lands, the cultivation of the tea plant lends itself to the foothills, and the land given under long lease by the government.

One who desires to see a tea plantation which is a real show-place of beauty and efficiency should endeavor to obtain an introduction to one of the owners of the famous "Malabar" and adjoining plantations, situated in the Preanger Regencies above Bandong. Mr. K. A. R. Bosscha is the presiding director. This gentleman has many different interests to occupy his mind, not the least being the *Volksraad* at Weltevreden, of which he is an important and valued member. We are fortunate enough to obtain through him an introduction to his junior, Mr. R. A. Kerkhoven, a gentleman belonging to an old planter family, who represents what in England would be called a prominent county family. Managing estates seems to come as naturally to these members of the landed aristocracy in the Indies as it does everywhere else on the globe. It is in the blood. Mr. Kerkhoven is not an exception to this rule. Besides being a charming host and guide, he appeared to have a firm grasp on all the details of his enormous tea enterprises. Nothing apparently escaped his eye, and it was easily imagined that he was as much at home in his office as in the saddle.

The plantation itself is situated in the hills, with wide vistas over the valleys below, and the background of magnificent forests, with the immaculate buildings in the foreground, the splendid roads, and cultivated fields, is an unending delight to the eye.

The writer has visited many famous estates in many places of the world, but seldom had he seen one

where efficiency, combined with excellent taste, was so much in evidence.

The tea plant generally grows at an elevation of from one thousand to four thousand five hundred feet above sea-level, and, while the plants need a great deal of rain, still they are sensitive to stagnant water around their roots. Rolling hills, well drained, are preferable. Plenty of sun is required, and it is necessary for this reason to prevent any and all other vegetation between the rows.

While sugar cane and tobacco must be quickly harvested, whenever the time for gathering has arrived, the harvesting of tea is a process which lasts the year round. It is generally done by women and children, as each little leaf must be picked carefully and individually from the stem. Immediately after picking, the leaves must be taken to the factory, which is situated in the center of the plantation, to be assorted, wilted, and dried.

It is customary to divide the plantations into parcels of land which are indicated by *dracaenas*, and the work is so regulated that every forty or fifty days, each of the bushes in each of the plots is carefully gone over and the leaves picked.

After the tea is dried in the factories by modern dehydrating machinery, it is again carefully assorted. Then it is brought on the market under different names.

Contrary to general belief, the different names do not indicate different varieties of tea, for it is all of

the Assam variety, but the difference comes from picking various sorts of leaves in accordance with their age. For instance, the famous Pekoe is made of the very young leaves, the Souchong from the smallest leaves, and the Oolong and Congo, from different grades of leaves of the same plant.

For the last few decades the natives have cultivated a great deal of tea on their own grounds, and it is the custom to offer these leaves for sale to the adjoining plantation factories.

In 1918 Insulinde exported over 60,000,000 pounds of tea. This was below normal, for both in 1915 and 1916 it exported close to 100,000,000 pounds, and in 1917 nearly 80,000,000 pounds. The export of Java alone in 1919 was close to 45,000,000 guilders.

Tea culture had to contend with a great many difficulties during the war, but in 1919 many impediments were removed, and the auctions of tea at Amsterdam and London were again started. In the London markets alone 107,000 cases of Netherlands East Indian tea were placed, while at the Amsterdam auctions about 180,000 cases were disposed of from Java, and 8,000 cases from Sumatra.[1]

While formerly tea was almost exclusively grown in the island of Java, lately the culture has had considerable attention in Sumatra, especially near Padang and in the Deli district near Pematang Sir Antar.

[1] See article "Conditions in Dutch East Indies," from Report of 1919 by the Chamber of Commerce at Amsterdam in *Economic Intelligence Bulletin of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, The Hague, dated December 10, 1920.

Netherlands, English, and German capital is interested, and it is expected that about twenty-five thousand acres of tea will soon be in full production.

As many gardens yield one thousand pounds yearly per acre, it is believed that Sumatra will bring a handsome quantity of tea on the market, especially as the total area is subject to vast expansion.[1]

The petroleum industry.—The history of this industry is closely interwoven with that of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company, which began its operations in 1890, with a capital of one million three hundred thousand guilders. In 1919 its capital had increased almost three hundred fold, that is, to about four hundred million guilders. The profits during that year were over one hundred million guilders. During its years of existence enormous dividends have often been paid, and its activities have been continuously extended.

After several financial transactions, the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company allied itself with others, and has become exclusively a parent or holding company. It holds in its treasury 60 per cent of all the shares of the Bataafsche Petroleum Company, which company operates extensively in Insulinde. In 1907 the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company and the Shell Company fused their interests. By the terms of this fusion, the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company acquired in perpetuity 60 per cent of all the property of the

[1] See Dr. Charles Bernard's "Tea Growing on Sumatra's East Coast" in *Sluyter's Monthly Magazine*, December, 1920.

combine, while the Shell Company obtained the remaining 40 per cent. The principal seats of business are in London and The Hague.

The allied and subsidiary companies have spread all over the world, for instance in Roumania through the "Astra Romana," in Egypt through the Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, Ltd., in Oklahoma and the mid-continent of the United States of America through the Roxana Petroleum Corporation of Virginia, in California and the western states of America through the Shell Oil Company of California, in Mexico through the La Corona Petroleum Company and the so-called Mexican Eagle (Compañia Mexicana de Petroleo El Aguilla), etc.

The Bataafsche Petroleum Company aforesaid has several magnificent establishments in Insulinde. It maintains two refining plants on the island of Sumatra, two on the island of Java, one on the island of Borneo, which is the largest of them all, while on the island of Ceram is located a distilling plant. There are also important tank installations on different islands of the archipelago.

The center of the oil industry in Java is at Tjepu, a small town half-way between Surabaya and Samarang. Here a great modern factory has been established, where the oil is refined and all by-products are manufactured, such as candles, etc. It is a real joy to visit this factory. The writer was most hospitably received there, and an opportunity was extended to see the oil industry from top to bottom. Under

the personal guidance of the courteous and able manager, Mr. J. G. Pouw, we visited the oil wells situated several miles from the factory in the middle of a teakwood forest, where chattering monkeys were having an enjoyable time. Several new wells were being drilled, some under the guidance of American bore-masters. More wells were in operation, three or four being pumped at the same time, by means of one electrical device. Geologists were engaged in surveying the ground and indicating spots where new trial wells should be sunk. Several pipe lines were conveying the oil to the factory. On our return to the plant several hours were spent within the factory, where, with the aid of modern machinery, a vast multitude of native mechanics and laborers were at work in the refineries, machine shops, can factories, etc.

Only the higher employees, such as the assistant manager, analyzing chemists, engineers, etc., were Hollanders. All the others were natives. The factory had all the appearances of a huge American manufacturing plant in full blast. Private railroad tracks crossed the yards in every direction, shunting the cars before the different sheds and buildings. To make the picture complete, armed native policemen were patroling the yards, for a strike among the native workmen had just ended, and the ringleaders, though defeated and repudiated by the better elements of workingmen, still needed watching.

The oil derived from the various wells is very different in appearance and in consistency. For

instance, the oil of Sumatra is lighter than that of Borneo. The Sumatra oil contains a greater percentage of benzine and less paraffine, the latter substance being found mainly in Javanese and Borneo oil.

Most of the geologists of the oil companies are graduates from the College of Engineers at Delft, Holland, but in former years many Swiss geologists were employed, who rendered very important and valuable service. Many of the young Dutch geologists were trained under the direction of Swiss experts. In late years a great deal of boring machinery has been imported from the United States, and American bore-masters and other chief mechanics are employed.

The Royal Dutch and Shell Combine maintain a fleet of tank steamers. This fleet is under the management of the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company, Ltd., of London. Sixty per cent of the shares of the latter company are owned by the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company. The tank ships owned in 1919 by this combine numbered 544,669, and several chartered ships in addition operated under its house flag.

Years ago this combine found a practical and reasonable solution of the grave question of encouraging saving and thrift among the officials and employees. For that purpose it created a thrift and provident fund. The employees are required to deposit to the credit of this fund between 5 and 10 per cent of their monthly earnings, and the combine at once adds the same amount to their credit, the whole amount earning

interest. On December 31, 1919, 7,300 officials and employees were members of this fund, and paid in a total of one and one-half million guilders during that year alone. The different companies of the combine added three million seven hundred thousand guilders to the fund, and at the end of the year (1919) there stood to the credit of the employees about twenty-five million guilders. This huge amount is separately administered and invested. Each employee is provided with his own pass book, showing the amount to his credit in the fund. Except when he is discharged for good cause, he is entitled, when leaving the employ of the company, to draw the full amount, and even in the case of discharge, he draws the full amount of his own deposits with accumulated interest. In this industry, also, a vast army of natives is employed.

The company does not deserve the exclusive credit of this system, for the reason that several of the large agricultural companies, such as the sugar and tobacco companies, have a system which more or less resembles it.

In 1914 (the last normal year) there were exported from Insulinde approximately: 110,000,000 gallons of kerosene; 76,000,000 gallons of benzine and gasoline; 50,000,000 gallons of fuel oil; 35,000,000 pounds of lubricating oil; 20,000,000 pounds of paraffine; and 400,000 pounds of asphaltum. In 1919 the total production of crude oil in Insulinde was 2,092,917 tons.

On several occasions the Royal Dutch groups were attacked by the Standard Oil Company and other large rivals, but they were able to beat off their commercial antagonists.

Rubber.—The rubber industry has attracted the attention of European capital since 1839, when the American, Mr. Goodyear, invented the process of vulcanization through sulphur.

The substance which is known as rubber or India rubber in English, and caoutchouc in Dutch, is found in several of the native plants, but only after the manufactured substance came into great demand for industrial purposes was the culture of rubber trees undertaken as a great agricultural enterprise.

In the beginning a mistake was made by planting the *ficus elastica*, and much capital was lost, as these trees, while producing a certain kind of rubber, did not give a product of satisfactory quality and quantity. Since that time the *Hevea Braziliensis* has been extensively planted with the most satisfactory results. Great plantations of these trees are found in Java and Sumatra.

The trees seem to thrive at different elevations, but rolling forest ground is generally considered the most adaptable.

A few years ago large American plantations were started in Sumatra, where the labor is imported from Java.

Those who have the time, when visiting Insulinde, should endeavor to visit Sumatra and spend a few

days at Medan, the governor's seat in East Sumatra. In the neighborhood are found extensive rubber plantations, second to none in the world. American as well as other foreign capital is profitably engaged here. Those who can visit only Java will find many flourishing rubber estates on this island also.

One of the best of these is the estate named "Pasir Ajoenan," in the Residency of Bantam. It is beautifully located in the foothills, and its rolling acres of rubber trees offer, especially when the leaves turn scarlet before dropping, a most pleasing sight. Here one may see hundreds of intent laborers, mostly women, moving from tree to tree, tapping the rubber by cutting with a sharp knife a small strip of the bark and inserting a catch cup at the lower end of the cut.

If one has the good fortune to enjoy the personal acquaintance of the manager of this estate, the estimable Mr. L. C. de Voss tot Nederveen Cappel, one is given a wealth of information besides a most hospitable welcome at the headquarters. One soon learns that managing a rubber estate is a skilled undertaking in the tropics. From the moment that the virgin forest is being cleared to the time when the sap is finally placed in the vats in the factory, a constant alertness is necessary.

The long-lease system.—It may well be asked what protection is given to Netherlands and foreign capital engaged in these large agricultural enterprises? This question is especially appropriate

TAPPING RUBBER TREES IN SUMATRA

in view of the fact that the white man cannot acquire a fee to the land.

The answer is that some of the industries are better protected than others. Those whose aim is the growing of sugar or tobacco, which is dependent on renting the soil from the natives, always run the risk that at some future time these natives may change their minds and either refuse to rent their land at all, or else demand such exorbitant rents that the industries cannot be maintained on a paying basis.

For the purpose of giving some kind of protection the law recognized the validity of leases running from six to a maximum of twenty years, given by natives to Netherlands planters. This, however, is only when each of these leases has been individually approved by the Netherlands official in charge.

The policy of the government to maintain the use of all cultivated lands, which are included within a reasonable sphere of the dessas, definitely and permanently for the natives, is so well established on historical as well as on moral and equitable grounds that there is not a remote chance that this plan will be changed. It may even be assumed that this agrarian policy of the government will be strengthened, and that, as the growing population may need more lands for its own existence, the government will allow the boundaries of the dessa lands to be gradually extended into what are now called domain lands.

As was pointed out in a former chapter, there is still a remnant of rights in fee simple absolute to the

soil, held by Europeans, which was granted under Governors General Daendels and Raffles. These rights, however, are continuously condemned by the government under eminent domain proceedings, and, inasmuch as the government pays only the true and actual value, it is very dangerous to purchase land under this ancient fee simple absolute, for the buyer is liable to be deposed at any time, and the price which the government gives may be less than that which he paid.

However, there are vast tracts of land which for years, and possibly for centuries to come, will not be needed for these native purposes, and these lands offer a large field for investment to foreign capital. The government does not part with the title to these lands. It could not, for it considers itself the trustee obligated to hold the final title forever in trust for the natives and their future wants, but in the meantime it grants long-lease rights to white people.

For the purpose of these long-lease rights the territory of Insulinde is divided into two main divisions: (1) the lands which are under direct Netherlands rule; and (2) the lands which are still under qualified native rule, with Dutch supervision, so-called self-governing communities.

The principal of obtaining leases on either division of the territory, while the same in general, varies in details.

1. In the territory directly under Dutch rule the granting of long-lease rights is regulated under the

agrarian law of April 9, 1870. This law provides that no leases shall be granted for a longer period than seventy-five years; that the governor general, or his deputy, the director of the Department of the Interior, shall grant the leases, and that before this is done, the land must be surveyed and mapped, and that, as a general rule, not more than five hundred *bouws* (eight hundred and seventy-five acres) shall be given under one surveyed right. Several of these surveys may be united into one leasehold.

In 1913 and 1914 additional ordinances and decrees were promulgated, further regulating the granting of these rights, while Book II of the *Civil Code of the Dutch East Indies* was likewise made applicable.

The leases are generally for agricultural purposes only, and are extended to Dutch subjects or citizens of the Dutch East Indies only, or otherwise to corporations or copartnerships established in accordance with the laws of the mother country or the Colonies. There is, however, nothing in the law which prevents foreign capital from participating in these corporations or copartnerships. The law simply requires that the articles of these corporations or copartnerships be drawn up and approved under the Netherlands or Netherlands East Indian law, and that they have their principal place of business in the Netherlands or the Netherlands East Indies, also that some of the directors be residents.

A yearly rental must be paid to the government by long-leaseholders, which is called "canon," and

which usually starts five years after the granting of the lease, giving the holder an opportunity to bring his land under cultivation and derive some profit therefrom before his payments begin.

The leaseholder may not transfer his right without the permission of the chief of the department, except when all rents and taxes have been paid; neither can he relinquish his right without the foregoing consent; and he is fined in case he does not promptly pay to the state treasury the amounts of the canon, when they become due. He often runs the chance that his lease may be forfeited for non-payment of rent, or if he fails to bring yearly under cultivation that part of the ground stipulated in the leasehold. There are several other minor stipulations, for instance, that he cannot construct water-works without special permit, etc.

A person desiring to obtain one of these long-leaseholds must file a written petition, directed to the governor general, and this request must be accompanied by a survey, made by the official surveyor, at the expense of the petitioner. A map must accompany the petition. The petition must be handed to the resident or governor of the province, who thereupon places the same before a permanent commission, charged with the local examination of long-lease requests. If there appear to be no serious obstacles to the granting of the request, notice of the petition is posted in public places in the dessas and neighboring villages, with the information that the population has thirty days in which to file protest if it so desires.

In the meantime the local commission aforesaid makes a thorough examination and incorporates the results in a report. Likewise the protest of the population, if any, is incorporated in this report, and finally the commission adds its recommendation, which includes the amount which should be paid yearly as canon. The petition with the reports are laid before the resident, who, if he so desires, asks for additional opinions from the division heads of irrigation, or forestry service, etc., and finally the whole matter is sent to the governor general for decision.

If the decision is favorable, the decree of the governor general stipulates that further surveys must be made before the final rights are granted, and it may likewise demand that any indemnification due to the population of a certain dessa be paid before the concession is granted.

After a few more formalities have been complied with, all of which tend toward the protection of the native dessas, the lease becomes effective. It is then recorded on the public registers, and a legal leasehold deed is issued.

The yearly rent as a rule is very reasonable, seldom over one guilder (normal exchange 40 cents in American money) per *bouw*, with an exemption from payment of this amount for the five or sometimes ten years.

2. In the self-governing communities concessions are granted instead of leaseholds. These concessions, however, very much resemble the leaseholds prevailing

in the territories under direct government. For instance they, like the others, cannot be granted for more than seventy-five years, and in all cases they must be granted by the native ruler of the countryside and approved by the Dutch resident or governor, or if the central government should assume the function of granting rights, the lease is granted by the local government official in the name of the governor general.

Generally speaking, only Dutch subjects or Dutch corporations and copartnerships can obtain these concessions, but an exception has been made on the east coast of Sumatra (Deli, etc.), where foreigners and foreign corporations and copartnerships are placed on the same footing as the Netherlanders.

In every case where the long-term lease or the concession is granted, if the leaseholder or concessionaire lives up to the spirit and letter of the contract, he enjoys the fullest protection of the Dutch law.

CHAPTER XII. THE FUTURE OF INSULINDE

Java a paradise—*Aloen-aloen*—The Parisiennes of the Orient—The plantations—The fish ponds—The appearance of an Arcadia—Industrial unrest—The public press and trades unions—Division of opinion—Conservatives—Liberals—Comparison of natives and American negroes—Liberals believe cure for unrest lies in (1) sensible education, (2) more political autonomy, (3) better social and financial conditions; conflict of capital and labor—"Lock outs" and strikes in the United States—Necessity of government protection in Insulinde—Probable future methods of protection are (1) fixing minimum wages and maximum hours of labor, (2) fixing surplus profits; law of supply and demand—Minimum wage in the United States—Deficit of 250,000,000 guilders in Java—Profits of agricultural enterprises—Risks of these enterprises—Dangers of unwise taxation—Dangers of paternalistic government—The inferior paternalism of Russia—The superior paternalism of Germany—Failure to awaken social responsibility—Insulinde's government by necessity paternal—Process of change to representative government—Two schools of industrial and political thought—Liberals—Conservatives—Great promise for future of Java

THE FUTURE OF INSULINDE

ONE who travels on the great highways of the island of Java,[1] "the gem of the Indian Ocean," travels indeed through a paradise the beauty of which is unsurpassed by any other country on the globe. The road winds through a lovely landscape where the *sawahs* or rice fields of the natives, bordered by the graceful cocoanut palms, follow one another in endless procession. Some of the *sawahs* are level stretches of irrigated agricultural lands; others have been constructed on terraced grounds, while all are subdivided into small plots, giving the whole scene the character of one intensively cultivated garden. Garbed in the light green color of the young rice, or in the darker green of the taller blades, or showing the golden hue of the ripening paddie, the *sawahs* present to the tourist a land rich in promise.

One sees the native men and women busily engaged in plowing with their carabaos, irrigating, planting, or harvesting, as the season demands. As one travels along the magnificently kept roads, bordered by canarien or other stately trees, one sometimes passes

[1] Those who desire to visit this Eden will find a very competent and agreeable guide in the Director of the Bureau for Tourists' Travel, Mr. N. A. Wymenga. This gentleman has a most astonishing knowledge of travel and local conditions in the islands, for he knows Insulinde from end to end. His office, subsidized by the government, is situated in the neighborhood of the hotels at Weltevreden. His courtesy, simplicity, and kindliness, combined with painstaking thoroughness, make a visit there a real joy.

patches of vandoe trees, producing freely the famous flossy kapok of commerce. Beneath them there are myriads of smiling little brown children, capering and playing as children are wont to do everywhere. One passes through dessas and villages, where young women, in the glory of their motherhood, nurse their babies unhindered by false modesty.

In each little dessa is a stately *aloen-aloen*, or public gathering-place, where, sheltered by some magnificent waringen trees, the home of the regent or *wedana* stands in dignified aloofness.[1] The waringen trees are enormous as well as graceful, and of such antiquity that several writers believe that they were never planted artificially. The regents or native princes are supposed to have selected these places for their residences on account of the existence of these sacred trees.

In the Preanger Regencies especially, and in the eastern part of Java generally, the Sundanese inhabitants give the impression of a carefree, if not gay, people. The women of this race are truly called the Parisiennes of the Orient. Bare-footed and bare-headed, with multicolored sarongs,[2] and kabayas,[3] generally provided with gold coins for buttons or ornaments, they make a picture never to be forgotten.

[1] These *aloen-aloen* remind one of the "plaza" in the presidios of the old Spanish Colonial times, which one still finds in some of the Western American cities.

[2] A colored strip of battik cloth, six feet long and about three or four feet wide, wrapped about the lower part of the body.

[3] A long waist of thin white material worn over the sarong.

Especially in the evenings, when the girls, small of stature, but erect and graceful, stand in long rows in front of their houses, stamping the paddie to husk the rice and singing their melodious folk-songs, the spirit of Java enters one's soul. Suddenly the native villages are left behind, and one beholds the great plantations of the white men, where huge quantities of produce are grown for the world-markets. One sees shimmering in the distance, under the palms and amid the bamboo groves, the big white houses of the Dutch planters, and near by the numerous out-buildings, reminding one of the landed estates of old colonial days in the southern states of America.

The scenic beauty is unending in variety and gorgeousness. One can never forget a visit made to the fish ponds at Garut,[1] where in a series of artificial lakes a multitude of colored fishes are disporting themselves. Each pond is separated from its neighbor by levees, planted with graceful palm trees which reflect their lovely images in the clear and limpid waters. Especially on moonlit nights, if one climbs

[1] Garut is a small city east of Bandong, connected therewith by rail and auto road. Here is found one of the best hotels in Java, the Hotel Papandayan, where mine host, Mr. J. A. C. Hacks, is not only willing but anxious to make his guests comfortable, and show them the glory of the surrounding country. One who can spare the time should spend several days, if not weeks, at Garut, visiting the famous craters of the Papandayan and Kawah Kamodjan.

Those who are visiting Java, or any other country where customs, ideas, and especially ideals are totally different from those prevailing at home, are very fortunate indeed when some inhabitant of the country, thoroughly imbued with its spirit, consents to act as cicerone.

an eminence and looks down on the valleys of the Tjipanas where these ponds are located, one can easily imagine that this is fairyland.

No matter which way one travels in the early morning, one meets a multitude of natives inbound for the *pasars* or markets[1] in the towns and villages, or outbound for their *sawahs*. In the evening the two processions are repeated.

One or two days a week are devoted to the *pasar* in each village. These days are always important in the economic life of the villagers, who flock together from the surrounding country, offering a multitude of articles for sale, such as meat, poultry, rice, spices, notions, wearing apparel, in fact everything that is produced on the farms or in the homes. Formerly a tax was levied, a small percentage on all sales. The right to collect this tax was generally "farmed out" to Chinese who were not slow to take advantage of the

---

How much one learns in a few hours that would otherwise take months of observation and study!

During their travels in the Orient, the writer and his party were singularly fortunate in that respect. At Garut, Mr. J. F. Waal, managing director of the important commercial firm of Deutikom & Waal of Bandong, a gentleman who has lived for years in Java, not only conducted them personally from Bandong to Garut, but remained there several days to see that the itinerary covered the most striking points of interest. He combined a thorough knowledge of the native language with love for the beauties of nature in the place of his residence. It was chiefly due to his sustained kindness that we saw this part of Java in its full glory and beauty.

[1] By *passer*, *passar*, or *pasar* is indicated the public marketplace. The word is derived from the Persian word *bazar*.

native population. Since 1855 these taxes have been abolished and trading at the *pasars* is free and unobstructed. In addition, the government is doing splendid work in improving the market-places. They are now provided with reinforced concrete floors, suitable roofs, sanitary appliances, etc. Order is maintained by the market police.

The *pasars* offer scenes of constantly changing color. Here the Chinese, Malays, Javanese, Arabs, and occasional white men mingle in friendly bartering.

The natives on the highways and in the fields and villages seem quiet, contented, and courteous. It is seldom that one sees an unseemly act or hears a rough word. One almost never sees a native strike a child or even speak harshly to one. It is truly said that a Javanese, no matter how humble, is a gentleman in his manners. Verily Java seems to be an Arcadia.

However, nothing is perfect in this world, and Insulinde is no exception to the rule. For even in this Arcadia the serpent of discontent has entered. How could it be otherwise? This spirit of discontent now sweeps over the whole world. It is felt in Japan as well as in France, in Soviet Russia, as well as in conservative China. It is the spirit which makes the man in the street demand a larger share of the good things of this world than he has had before. It is the spirit of self-determination politically, no matter whether the people are ripe for self-government or not. Such feelings are epidemic and contagious. How then could Java in particular, and Insulinde in general,

escape the backwash in this tide of the world's thought? Even if it could, it should not; for reasonable discontent must forever be the mother of reasonable progress. That such a feeling will materially affect the future of this Island Empire must be obvious.

The feeling of unrest expresses itself in Insulinde in much the same way that it does all over the rest of the world. It is evidenced by a demand for greater political freedom, a demand for better social conditions, and a demand especially for better financial conditions. The cry for greater political freedom finds vent in two movements:

a) A general movement, demanding more accentuated autonomy in all local matters, and less interference from the mother country in those matters which pertain particularly to Insulinde. In this demand the educated colored brethren are supported by a material part of the white population, and by many voices in the white man's daily press and periodicals.

b) A specific movement, existing among the natives, which finds its organs of expression in the native press, and in several native societies, of which the Society Sarakat Islam is the principal. The Society Insulinde is prominent among the half-castes.

The demand for better social and financial conditions, in other words the industrial unrest, finds utterance in the public press and in different trade unions and societies especially devoted to this aim.

It may be remarked here that these trade unions and societies by no means have the vitality which their sisters have in more advanced countries.

It is a good omen for the future that there is a healthy division of opinion as to how to solve this vexing problem, for *du choc des opinions jaillit la verite* is a maxim especially applicable to public politics. Those whose interests are more directly affected by the social, industrial, and financial demands of the population are firmly convinced that this movement is primarily a political one, and they deny its industrial character. Inasmuch as these gentlemen are of necessity large property owners, or at least represent large property interests, they are naturally conservative in their political views, and may therefore be called the Conservatives. They blame the so-called political unrest almost entirely on the "too liberal" views which the government holds, and which they believe to be detrimental to the best interests of all concerned. Their theory is largely based on the thought that the only government suitable to a colony is a strong centralized government, leaning for its main support on powerful battalions, preferably with fixed bayonets. It finds its counterpart in the implicit trust which the old conservative corporation managers in other countries place in the policeman's club to settle all industrial differences.

It is probably needless to say that the majority of the old planters and industrials belong to this school of thought, and, as is the wont of their class, they

are not bashful about expressing their views. They witnessed "the good old times" when natives were subservient to white people, even to the extent of crouching in the dust when the white children and their *baboes* (colored nurses) passed by.

These big industrials are the lions of the conservative movement. They are firmly convinced that the good God has made some people to direct and rule while others were destined to be hewers of wood and carriers of water; that no good can come of a policy the ultimate aim of which is the transformation of good burden-carriers into indifferent if not vicious aspirants to higher ideals—ideals which the burden-carriers will never be able to reach and of which they would soon tire, should they make the effort. They are likewise convinced that such a policy would breed in the people a desire to fill positions in the scheme of things for which nature never intended them; that it would teach them to look with contempt on the useful manual work for which they are best fitted. This class of conservatives has its sycophants, flatterers, and retainers, just as the lion has the jackal to hunt in its tracks. But their influence is negligible, and their opinions variable at the best.

As for the true exponents of this conservative theory, it is idle to say that they are all prompted by selfish and material motives. On the contrary, many of these gentlemen have a profound knowledge of the psychology of the natives of Insulinde, a knowledge based on years and years of close contact, study,

and observation. It is especially due to their energy, courage, and foresight, that a splendid industrial empire was built. We may well believe that they are firmly convinced of the righteousness of their arguments.

To prove their contentions, they point with considerable force to the fact that many of the plantation managers have made an earnest effort to better the living and moral conditions of the natives; that they have built model *kampongs* where their laborers and families could live under sanitary and otherwise improved conditions; that their efforts have met with only lukewarm sympathy, if not indifference and downright hostility, from the intended beneficiaries.

It is further pointed out that the so-called educated native is, as a rule, an educated impossibility; that he becomes pompous and lazy; that he evidences a violent love for all the white man's rights, but does not welcome even a speaking acquaintance with the white man's duties; that unless a firm hand is held on the situation, the agitators—full-blood natives, half-breeds, and degenerate whites alike—will continue to stir up trouble, which can bring only disaster to everyone concerned; that the native press is often preaching sedition, and inciting people to rebellion, thereby threatening the islands with untold misery. There are many other strong arguments of a similar tenor, all of which are advanced with energy and earnestness. Several of them have a solid historical background.

As we have seen, the native government was in the past a government of satraps and petty despots over serfs and slaves. The first white man's government was not much better. It was in many instances worse. It was a government of spoliation, for it was essentially mercenary. As the white man himself raised his ideals of colonization, his government slowly developed into a benevolent despotism, but the native peoples did not keep pace; they clung to the idea that their native rulers were the masters and owners of their bodies and souls. Even though it is very evident today that they are rulers in name only, paid servants of the white man in fact, this does not seem to impress itself on the average native.

Even a cursory observer who travels through Insulinde knows that the natives do not pay the slightest attention, of their own accord, to such matters as cleaning and flushing, to sanitary engineering, to the curbing of pestilence and dreadful diseases. Take the white man away, and Insulinde would once more be the breeding-place of epidemics. Even now, in cases of smallpox and cholera epidemics, the health service has little co-operation from the native quarter, and sometimes it is met with bitter opposition. Improvement is not simply a question of instruction and education. The Conservatives remind us that the majority of the natives, who have lived for years in close contact with the Hollanders, are as insanitary, as superstitious, and as adverse to progress as ever; also that those who have lived as servants in white

men's homes for decades, and who have been taught, nay compelled, to employ hygienic methods, promptly revert to type when they are released from the white man's influence.

The Conservatives are not opposed to education, but they believe that this education should be very slowly extended. They point out that education of the native at present is generally a failure, as was the education of the negro in the United States after his emancipation. Then each one wished to be educated as a lawyer, a preacher, or a clerk, with as little effort as possible,[1] but scorned the idea of being trained along manual lines. It took heroic efforts by men like Booker T. Washington to lead their people out of the intellectual bog and to inspire in some of them that feeling of nobility of character which is always the handmaiden of useful endeavor and service in this world. The subject race in either case does not furnish sufficient intellectual force or material means to satisfy the demand of their leaders for racial improvement.

Many of the Conservatives of Insulinde are men of sterling principles who have an intimate knowledge of native character. They have devoted the best years of their lives to useful endeavor in Insulinde, and have greatly contributed toward the material wealth and the general improvement of this Island

[1] A counterpart of this feeling we find in the recent demand of one of the sultans who insisted on a European university education for his son, although he had not even sent his son to the grammar school, to say nothing of the high school.

Empire and its inhabitants. And they view with alarm the government's activities.

Their opponents, whom we may call the Liberals, claim that these statements, while partially true, are much exaggerated. In the first place they claim that the comparison of the native with the American negro is unfair, inasmuch as the former stands much higher culturally and racially than the colored race from Africa. This of course is true.

These Liberals admit that the native population would slump back to its old conditions of anarchy and strife, if the white man's capital and directing genius were taken away; that it will take several centuries more under the direction of the white race before these islands can take their place as an independent and orderly organization in the family of nations. They also admit that while the problem of the education of the negro race was difficult of solution in the American Union, where the white people outnumbered the colored citizens eight to one, this problem will reach heroic dimensions in a country like Insulinde where the colored population outnumbers the white five hundred times.

The Liberals believe that the cures for the unrest now prevailing in Insulinde are: (1) sensible education, (2) more political autonomy, (3) better social and financial conditions for the natives. These reforms are already under way.

That the government must necessarily be extremely cautious and slow in guiding this progress is evident

to anyone knowing the Oriental character. Education must be not only scholastic, but vocational, political, and moral as well. At least for the present, little can be expected from the initiative of the population. The guidance must come from the government. During the last two decades, some natives have been educated in the white man's ways with excellent results. These men prove to be good citizens, and may become a strong leaven in the native multitude. So far, however, their number has been small, and they constitute only a promise for the future.

The time is past when the ruling race can occupy, to its own exclusive satisfaction and profit, the position of absentee landlord. As far as political evolution is concerned, more freedom is constantly granted. There need be little or no doubt that it will be granted just as fast, and let us hope no faster, than the population is prepared to receive it.

The third proposed remedy is a tender point, for improved financial conditions for the natives mean less profit and more taxes for the white men's industries. From time immemorial capital and labor have had unity of interest as far as general results were concerned, but a marked diversity of interests when it comes to the division of the profits which accompany good commercial results.

In a country like the United States, where a very important percentage of the laboring classes is organized, this question is generally solved by compromise

between the representatives of capital and the representatives of labor, that is, the trade-union officials.

If no compromise can be reached, employers sometimes use "lock out" methods, and labor leaders the "strike." In the event of either, it is safe to say that the really interested party, though so far silent in the matter, has the deciding voice. This party is of course the general public. It is now recognized that neither a lock out nor a strike has much chance of success unless supported by public opinion.

But how about a country like Insulinde where the rank and file of labor stand so far below the representatives of capital in intelligence that from the outset they are at a great disadvantage? This disadvantage is accentuated because public opinion in this country has no influence as it has in countries where the mass of the people is very much advanced.

It is obvious that in Insulinde, where the vast majority of the people, the workers, are intellectually very inferior to the small minority, their employers, the government must give the industrial protection which this majority is unable to give itself. For is not a good government always based on the principle of promoting the most good for the greatest number of people? Very probably the method of this protection will eventually take the forms of: (1) fixing minimum wages and maximum hours of labor; (2) taxing surplus profits heavily and progressively. Of course both propositions will meet with determined opposition.

The first is bound to be looked upon by the Conservatives as an economic heresy. Shades of Adam Smith and all the other ancient political philosophers! and what will become of the law of supply and demand? Has it not been accepted for years that sound political science always recognizes that the price of any commodity is regulated by this ancient and bewhiskered law? If the merchant or the manufacturer has goods for sale, are they not his commodity? And if the laborer has his work for sale, is that not his commodity? Fortunately for the good of mankind, it is not. As august a body as the Congress of the United States, the President concurring, has solemnly declared, within the last few years, that by Article 6 of the Clayton Act, human labor is no commodity or article of commerce.[1]

One is often earnestly assured that the native of Java does not care for higher wages; that if he received them, he would work just so much less; that it would simply bring down upon him a horde of poor relatives to squat in his bamboo house and eat him out of house and home, etc.

These are old arguments, such as it may safely be presumed were used by the members of the Babylonian Chamber of Commerce when they resisted a demand for higher wages. They remind one somewhat of the arguments which were used at the time when the labor unions in the United States came to

[1] Samuel Gompers, the veteran president of the American Federation of Labor, called this act the Magna Charta of labor.

the rescue of the shopgirls, demanding higher wages, and especially a stated minimum wage, shorter hours, better shop conditions, such as chairs where they might sit when not occupied in waiting on customers, decent lunch- and rest-rooms, etc.

Well-upholstered dowagers came together in their clubs, solemnly supporting the pronunciamentos of well-fed employers to the effect that the proposed conditions, if granted, would eventually prove to be detrimental to the workers themselves, for they—all supposedly young and beautiful girls—would have too much free time on their hands, would leave the shop earlier, and would flirt with disreputable men, while promenading the streets, etc., *ad nauseam*. The wages were raised and the hours were shortened, but none of the predicted calamities of the alarmists came to pass.

In Insulinde a very difficult factor enters the labor situation, and that is the lack of energy on the part of the native workmen. This is a natural result of the ease with which the laborer can satisfy his reasonable desires and wants.

Some extremists in the movement for bettering native conditions are advocates of a minimum wage which is several times higher than that paid now. Experienced planters and industrialists point out that it would be impossible to pay the suggested wages, and that if they were insisted upon, the result would be the replacement of native labor by Chinese coolies. The latter are more industrious, and even at higher wages their greater diligence would assure the business

A NATIVE BELLE (ISLAND OF BALI)

a remunerative basis. In other words the claim is that theory and practice should be very carefully reconciled, as otherwise extreme measures might defeat the very purpose for which they were adopted.

As far as taxes are concerned, who is not opposed to an increase when he has to pay these taxes himself? Such taxes are always "oppressive, inequitable, and unjust." Only those which touch our neighbors or our dearest enemies, and not us, are "statesmanlike in their conception, highly moral and beneficial" in their execution.

But the government of Insulinde needs money and needs it badly, for notwithstanding that it has taxed even its own officials and all the white persons living in the Indies in almost every conceivable way, still it has failed to raise sufficient revenue to carry out its purposes. For the last ten years the deficit has amounted to 250,000,000 guilders, which amount will increase to 362,000,000 guilders by the end of this year.

In the meantime, some of the great agricultural enterprises have made huge profits, profits which by no means are indicated by the dividends they have paid, for, in accordance with the prevalent Dutch financiering, large sums are continually used either for the creation of reserves or for the "writing off" process, and sometimes for both.[1]

[1] To give only one example: The average dividend for the last six years, of nine of the most important tobacco companies, has been a fraction more than 28 per cent per year. Some companies have paid in other years as high as 30, 60, or even 80 per cent.

Taxation, to be sure, is one of the most perilous enterprises in which a government can indulge. This is especially true in Insulinde for the reason that capital has already taken considerable risks, such as lack of dividends in the first years, plant and insect diseases, unstable markets (see sugar, rubber, etc.), and unless capital gets a liberal return when all conditions are favorable it may not wish to invest at all. In other words, the government must step warily, lest it kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Moreover, living conditions in the tropics are such that the white men who go there for twenty years, more or less, to engage in these enterprises naturally expect a far more substantial return for their endeavors than if they had remained in their own country where conditions were more to their taste. Still it becomes more and more evident that these large industries are the ones which will eventually have to pay the lion's share of the pecuniary benefits derived from the stability of social conditions.[1]

One of the difficulties to be solved finds its origin in the very form of government now existing. Paternalism has always within its own organism the seeds of great danger, for it almost invariably fails to develop in its beneficiaries that feeling of individual social consciousness so necessary for the sound advancement of the people. The inferior paternalism

[1] Recently a progressive income tax has been enacted which, though in a very mild way only, endeavors to reach these surplus profits.

of former Russia, the superior one in the former German Empire prove this.

In Russia the "Little White Father" was presumed to be the fountain-head of all governmental endeavors, and the result was a lack of all governmental responsibilities in the masses. Even today the Soviet government cannot awaken the great bulk of the peasantry to anything which looks like active participation. The peasant was land-hungry for centuries. He got his land, but he knows that he holds title by possession only, and has no real legal title. He realizes that any return of the old régime, in whatever form, will cancel his possessory title, and he is therefore opposed to any change which would deprive him of his cherished possession. He has the strongest possible incentive actively to support and participate in the present government, but he does nothing of the kind, allowing a small but compact organization to ride him.

In Germany there was the most highly and scientifically developed paternalism possible. It gave magnificent service to the people. Bismarck was convinced that a well-satisfied laboring population was the best agency to bring the Fatherland to greatness, and he instituted this form of government. But it brought war, and war brought defeat and chaos, for the great mass of the people had not been taught social responsibility.

Both cases prove that a government can only lead. As soon as it begins to drive, it kills in the hearts of

the people the very essence of self-reliance and social responsibility so necessary for their continuous success.

Insulinde's government is paternalistic. Of course it is. The country could not have any other form of government at the present time or in the past, and be able to maintain order and promote progress. Of necessity this paternalism affects not only the natives but also the white inhabitants, the Dutch merchant, agriculturist, manufacturer, etc., who, while deriving on the one hand all the benefits of such a form of government, are, on the other hand, unconsciously handicapped by its drawbacks.. One of these drawbacks is the lack of any feeling of moral and social responsibility toward the man in the street, who in this case is of course the native worker. The idea that a substantial part of the rich profits of enterprise—if such profits there be—should be devoted, not as a matter of charity but as a matter of simple justice, to public welfare work such as schools, visiting nurses, local private hospital clinics, dispensaries, the encouragement of native arts, etc., does not seem to have occurred to many of the corporation officials.

This does not mean that there are no corporations which voluntarily undertake such welfare work. The hospitals of almost all the large tobacco companies, especially in Sumatra, are models which attract the attention of people even outside the boundaries of Insulinde. The Royal Dutch Shell group of oil companies are also splendid examples on account of

the care which they take of their native employees. It is therefore with full acknowledgment of what has already been done in this line that the suggestion is made that those who are lagging behind in voluntary endeavor should be placed under some compulsory direction.

The line of demarkation between the schools of political and industrial thought is pretty accurately ascertainable. If the country's form of government had already accomplished its change from paternalism into a more representative government, it would be safe to assume that these schools would soon evolve into two established political parties, as at some time in the future they very likely will. But while one may not as yet speak of political parties in the Indies, as this term is understood in Western countries, still the difference of opinion between the adherents of the schools already has all the earmarks of a healthy political strife.

The Conservatives, naturally, are firmly and honestly convinced that the Liberals are well-meaning gentlemen who indulge in day-dreams which, if realized, will mean the beginning of total disaster.

The Liberals are not slow in returning the compliment by asserting that the Conservatives are often hide-bound income-producers, who refuse to recognize the fact that it is always a mistake to withhold the granting of reforms until they are rebelliously demanded; that the government and the large interests should keep well abreast of popular evolution to

prevent a longing for revolution. They point out that the future of Insulinde is assured, if the social conditions of the natives are steadily and progressively improved; that with improved social conditions political unrest will materially diminish, if not disappear.

The element in the Liberal party which is bound to exercise the most potent influence in the future is composed of practical men who recognize the necessity of facing facts as distinguished from theories only. The Conservatives are all rowing against the tide of public opinion, and some of the Liberals somewhat ahead of it. It now rests with the element last mentioned to assume a middle course, and influence their brethren to make haste slowly, lest in their enthusiasm their cause be lost. These men, who are generally the most experienced in Insulinde matters, agree with the more decided element of their school, that the tide of improvement should never be dammed, in fact they heartily favor a progressive system of improvement. Still from the depths of their past experience they sound a note of warning. They fear too fast a tempo of progress. They point out that many of the natives, when relieved from proper restraint, do not become orderly reformers, but often destroyers; that much freedom too hastily granted will prove destructive instead of constructive for them.

So far many of the natives who have arisen from the population, proclaiming themselves messiahs of

the better things to come, have unfortunately proved to be unworthy stewards of the talents intrusted to them by their confiding countrymen. Absconding with funds belonging to the different lodges of the Sarakat Islam is not an unusual thing with these trusted leaders.

While men of moderate views subscribe to the theory of constant improvement and liberation, they know that they must keep progress in Insulinde within reasonable bounds. In the course of human events these men and their followers will doubtless be called upon to furnish the energy and the brains to lead the natives to the promised land. And in the gardens of this promised land must be cultivated the flowers of self-discipline, responsibility, and duty. Much cultivation is needed, for these blooms are rare in the average native's life.

In the meantime the government of Insulinde is slowly becoming less centralized and more representative in form. With greater political rights and duties will come a keener feeling of social accountability. The ballot-box has always been a wonderful accelerator of public conscience toward social and industrial justice.

Insulinde as a whole, and Java in particular, is gradually becoming more self-sustaining industrially. In the last few decades, important cement plants have been started and are now in successful operation. Sulphuric acid, that barometer of industrial development, is being manufactured in Java, and slowly but

surely the islands are emerging from their cocoon state as an agricultural colony.[1]

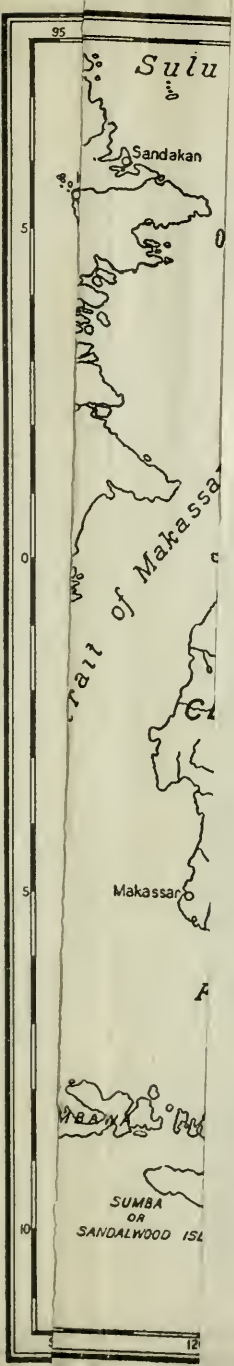
Insulinde today provides a shining example of good white man's government among a native population. Insulinde of tomorrow is bound to become a still more brilliant star in the constellation of colonial governments. As far as the past stewardship of the Netherlands is concerned, the verdict of mankind cannot be otherwise than that of the Lord, when he spoke to his servants to whom he had intrusted his talents: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many." For no matter how numerous these intrusted interests have been in the past, they are few compared with the many which will develop in the future. The greater part of these islands stands only on the threshold of its development.

The good work of the past, the better work of the present, will go on in the future to the benefit of Insulinde and the mother country alike—aye, to the

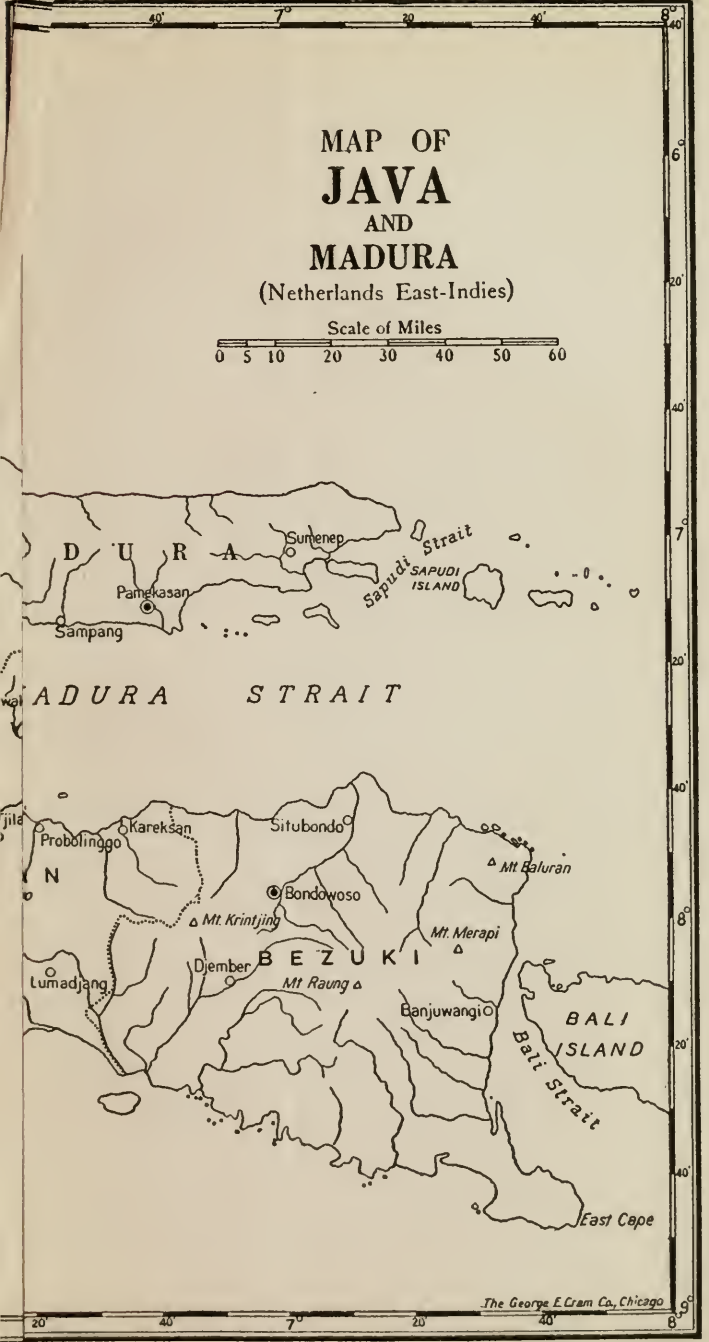
[1] That the United States will be an important factor in the industrial development of Insulinde is proved by statistics of the last eight years:

Year	Exports from Dutch East Indies to the United States	Imports from United States to Dutch East Indies
1912–13	$ 6,221,954	$ 3,151,693
1913–14	5,334,361	3,676,895
1914–15	9,245,784	2,771,779
1915–16	27,716,589	7,401,026
1916–17	62,011,236	21,139,305
1917–18	79,314,233	19,777,504
1918–19	71,036,606	44,845,561
1919–20	95,801,266	45,647,245

benefit of humanity. And the best omen for the coming years is that the banner which the Netherlands holds aloft in the Island Empire is still emblazoned with the motto: "Never despair, for great work is still to be done in the Indies!"


Sulu
Sandakan
Makassar
SUMBA
OR
SANDALWOOD ISL

MAP
OF THE
MALAY ARCHIPELAGO
(Netherlands East-Indies)
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Sulu Sea
MINDANAO ISLAND
Sandakan
Celebes Sea
Malay Peninsula
MALACCA
Malacca Strait
Kuta Radja
Diamond Pt
SUMATRA
Toba Lake
Sibolga
Singapore
Fort de Kock
Padang
Djambi
Muntok
BANKA
Palembang
BILLITON
Benkulen
Telokbetong
Sunda Strait
Serang
Batavia
Java Head
Bandong
Indromayu Pt
Banyumas
Samarang
MADURA
Madiun
Surabaya
Djokjakarta
Kediri
Pasuruan
Bondowoso
Singaradja
BALI
OMBOK
SUMBAWA
FLORES
East Cape
SUMBA OR SANDALWOOD ISLAND
Savu Sea
Timor Sea
TIMOR
Kupang
Delli
Strait of Weter
TIMORLAUT ISLANDS
Arafura Sea
ARU ISLANDS
Banda Sea
Flores Sea
Makassar
Gulf of Boni
BUTON
CELEBES
Gulf of Tolo
Gulf of Tomini
Minahassa
Menado
Ternate
GILOLO ISLAND
Molucca Sea
MOLUCCA OR SPICE IS.
SULA ISLANDS
Ceram Sea
CERAM
BURU
Geelvink Bay
PAPUA OR NEW GUINEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Strait of Makassar
BORNEO
Serawak
Pontianak
Karimata Strait
Banjarmasin
LAUT I.
JAVA SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
NATUNA ISLANDS
Longitude East from Greenwich
The George F. Cram Co., Chicago


MAP OF
JAVA
AND
MADURA
(Netherlands East-Indies)
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60
D U R A
Sumenep
Sapudi Strait
SAPUDI ISLAND
Pamekasan
Sampang
ADURA STRAIT
Probolinggo
Kareksan
Situbondo
Mt Baluran
Bondowoso
Mt. Krintjing
Mt. Merapi
Djember
BEZUKI
Mt Raung
Lumadjang
Banjuwangi
BALI ISLAND
Bali Strait
East Cape
The George F. Cram Co., Chicago

MAP OF
JAVA
AND
MADURA
(Netherlands East-Indies)
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60
J A V A S E A
I N D I A N O C E A N
SUMATRA
Sunda Strait
St Nicholas Point
PRINCES' ISLAND
Java Head
Wyncoops Bay
BANTAM
BATAVIA
PREANGER REGENCIES
CHERIBON
PEKALONGAN
BANYUMAS
KEDU
SAMARANG
DJOKJAKARTA
SURAKARTA
MADIUN
REMBANG
KEDIRI
BURABAYA
PASURUAN
BEZUKI
MADURA
MADURA STRAIT
Sapudi Strait
Surabaya
BALI ISLAND
Bali Strait
East Cape
Indromayu Point
Batavia
Bandong
Cheribon
Tegal
Pekalongan
Samarang
Djapara
Rembang
Tuban
Blora
Surakarta
Djokjakarta
Madiun
Kediri
Pasuruan
Banjuwangi
Tjilatjap
Longitude East from Batavia
Longitude East from Greenwich
The George F. Cram Co. Chicago

INDEX

INDEX

Abjuration, Act of, 63
Achinese, 142
Adat, 93, 167, 176, 177, 179, 249
Agrarian law, 275
Agricultural information, 234 ff.
Alang-alang, 26
d'Albreo, Antonio, 56
Alexandria, 61, 132
"Alfoers," 34, 55
Aloen-aloen, 282
Amboina, 104, 149
Ambon, 45, 55
Amiens, Treaty of, 124
American Commonwealth, 4; concessionnaires, 205; forestry, 238; oil workers, 268; orators and writers, 9; psychology, 7; thought, 9–11
Amfioen Society, 117 f.
Ampel, 55
Amsterdam, xiii, 62, 81, 127, 255, 260, 265; Quay, 221
Ananas, 27
Anjer, 152
Anoesapati, 48
Antilles, The, 68
Antwerp, 61, 148
Arabic characters, 33
Arabs, 32, 36, 54, 90, 181, 228
"l'Archipel Asiatique," 16
Ardjuna Wiwaha, 42
"Arfaks," 34
Arragon, Admiral of, 79
Asiatic Council, 124
Assamica, 262
Atjeh, 55; rebellion in, 159; Sultan of, 89
Australasia, 7, 15
Australia, 8, 15, 213 f., 223; fauna and flora, 28
Automobile Service, 211
Azores Islands, 69

Babads, 41
Baboes, 288
Balemboang, Sultan of, 109
Bali, 15, 17, 33, 35, 45, 49, 58, 87, 152, 219, 236
Balige, 216
Balinese, 58
Balkan States, 199
Bamboo, 25
Banana, 26
Banda Islands, 45, 55, 56, 115
Bandjermasin, 52, 235 n.
Bandong, 118, 178, 215, 224, 259
Banjuwangi, 152
Banka, 20, 36, 45, 195, 224
Banking, 189, 228 ff.
Banks: rice credit, 229; district, 229; village cash credit, 229 f.
Banos, 55
Bantam, 50, 70, 89, 100, 101, 102, 103 f., 108, 110, 119, 122, 153, 272
Banting, 28
Bantool, 254
Barends, Willem, 70
Bataafsche Petroleum Company, 266
Batavia, 36, 101, 103–6, 119, 125, 127; "Central Cash" bank, 230; Civil Service College at, 167; court, 175; harbor of, 220; hospitals, 234; Queen of Insulinde, 107; quinine plants, 257; steamship lines, 222; telegraph, 214

Batavian Republic, 123, 125
Battaks, 34, 216
Battik cloth, 282 n.
Belawan, harbor, 221
Belgium, 61, 148
Bengal, 193
Benkulen, 224
Bernard, Charles, 266
Bert, J. Chailley, 119
Bezuki, 254
Bilangas, 58
Billiton, 20, 36
Blume, Dr., 257
Borneo, 15–19, 49, 52; Dayaks of, 138; emigration to, 207; oil, 267; religions, 87; rulers, 109; salt monopoly, 190; suzerainty, 122; unknown to white men, 127
Boro-Budur, 44, 46
Bos, J. van den, 261
Bosch, Governor General van den, 157
Both, Governor General Peter, 103
Bra Widjaja V, 49
Brahmans, 33, 87
Brandes, Dr. J., 46, 51
Brâtâ-Joeda, 41
Brata Yuda, 42
British, shipping, 222
Brito, Antonio de, 56
Broek, W. Palmer van den, 43, 104
Broenei, Sultanate of, 52
Bromo, Crater, 25
Brown, J. M., 57, 134 n.
Bruges, 61
Brussels, 148
Buddha, 47
Buddhism, 7, 53, 54
Buginese, 33, 52
Buitenzorg, 126, 164, 214, 262
Burges, 33
Burginys, 76
Buru, 55

Cacao, 261
Calcutta, 252
Campbell, Donald MacLain, 71 n. 143, 151 n.
Canada, 7, 9, 11
Canarien trees, 281
Canon, 188, 275, 277
Cape Verde Islands, 68
Carabao, 28, 94, 281
Cassava, 19
Casuarina, 25
Cauizores, Don Juan Lopez, 257
Celebes, 15–19, 27, 31, 33, 51, 127, 138, 169, 175; roads, 219; Sea of, 16
"Central Cash" bank, 230
Ceram, 31, 55, 267
Ceylon, 45, 115
Chauvinism, 65
Cheng Ho, 54
Cheribon, 50, 55, 108
China, 7, 49, 193, 213
Chinchona, Countess del, 257
Chinese, 32, 36, 150; annals, 44, 53–54; in Borneo, 52; in Celebes, 51; expedition, 48; handicrafts, 187; in Java, 90, 96, 111, 114; massacre, 116; mercenary, 228; merchants, 132; opium, 193; schools, 181; tea, 262
Chinese Sea, 16
Christian religion, 87, 122
Christians, 122
Cinchona, 246, 247
Civil Code, 275
Clayton Act, 295

Cloves, 55
Coal, 20, 36, 224, 261
Coca, 261
Cocoanut, 19, 26; oil, 246, 247
Cocos Island, 214
Coen, Governor General J. P., 103, 104, 105, 218 n.
Coffea Arabica, 111, 255; *liberia*, 256; *robusta*, 256
Coffee, 120, 127, 138, 139, 153, 157, 246, 255 f.
Congo tea, 265
Conservatives, 287
Constantinople, 61, 132
Copra, 261
Council of the Indies, 83, 101, 122, 163
Council of Seventeen, 101
Crusades, 61
Cultuur stelsel, 155, 255

Daendels, Governor General, 125, 127, 152, 274
Dayaks, 34, 52, 53, 138; Tring, 53
Declaration, Abridged, 173
Dekker, Douwes, 140, 141, 155
Delft, 81
Deli, 36, 203, 212, 221, 254, 265, 278
Demak, 55, 90. *See* Mataram
Dessa, 91, 94, 251, 273, 277
Deventer, M. L. van, 102 n., 104 n., 110 n., 119 n.
Director General, 83
Djajanagaro, 49
Djakatra, 104; Pangéran of, 103
Djaksa, 176
Djambi, 54
Djaro, 168
Djati, 19, 239
Djeroek, 27
Djokjakarta, 42, 46, 211 n., 212, 221, 254; Crown Prince of, 97 n.; Sultan of, 153, 154, 170; Sultanate of, 119, 152
Dordrecht, 62
Dradjat, 55
Drake, Sir Francis, 56
Dry season, 23 f.
Dutch: East Indies, 15; Guinea, 225; language, 87, 167, 179, 189, 199; navigators, 68; people, 56; possessions, 143; Republic, vii; ships, embargo on, 65; subjects, 278

East India Islands, 12, 131
East Indian Company: British, 100, 101, 104, 149; Dutch, 72, 92 n., 109, 112, 136
"Edele Heeren," 110
Education, 121, 178–86
Electric service, 189, 224 ff.
Emma harbor, 221
England, admitted to free trade, 123
English language, 167, 198
Enkhuizen, 62, 81
Equator, 16, 23
Erdbrink, G. R., 164
Erlangga, 48

Fa Hieii, 46
"Far Away Company," 71
Far East: Netherlands empire in, 72; language of, 86
Federated Malay States, xiv, 15, 33
Fendall, John, 124
Ficus elastica, 271
Fisheries, 189, 237 ff.
Flores Island, 15, 31, 58

Forestry, 189, 238 ff.
Fort de Kock, 216

Gamalang, 171
Garut, 283
Genoa, 61
Ghent, 61
Gillespie, Colonel, 151
Gilolo, 31
Giri, 49, 50; Priest Prince of, 55
Gold, 20, 36, 224, 261
Gowa, 51
Graeff, A. C. D. de, 164
Great Britain, 198, 213, 252
Greater Sunda Islands, 15
Grotius, Hugo, 76
Guam, 214
Gunung, Sultanate of, 52

Hague, The, 163, 267; Civil Service Academy of, 167
Halmahera, 55
Handels Vereenigingen, 223 n.
Hanse cities, 62
Harbors, 20, 189, 219 ff.
Harloff, A. J. W., 170
Hatuloes, 19
Havelaar, Max, 140
Hawaiian Islands, 248
Hazen, Dr. G. A. J., 51
Health, 189, 232 ff., 290
Heeckeren, Baron C. W., 240 n.
Heemskerck, 69, 70
"de Heeren" 17 (The Seventeen Gentlemen), 82, 101
Hesskart, 257
Hevea Braziliensis, 271
Himeleia Vestatrix, 255
Hindu: civilization, 90, 95; customs, 93; influence, 88; merchants, 132; people, 32, 42, 43, 47, 51, 58, 87; traders, 53
Holland, under Napoleon, 124
Hollanders, 37, 52, 89, 96–98, 107 n., 122, 135; coffee introduced by, 127; lost colonies to English, 123
Holtzapffel, J. J., 259
Home Government, 149, 155, 222
Hongkong, 252
Hoorn, 81
Houtman, Cornelis de, 69, 70
Humme, H. C., 42

Indian Ocean, 16
Indigo, 19, 111, 140, 157, 261
Indragiri, 54
Inquisition, 75
Insulinde, 15, 24, 112, 124, 142, 149, 155, 228, 245 n., 286; agricultural, 246; climate, 24; colonial administration, 160; education, 178; English and Dutch, 132 n.; English rule, 150; fauna and flora, 25–27; forestry, 238; government, 300, 304; hydraulic power, 225; industries, 261; languages, 195–200; native councils, 168; oil, 266, 270; opium, 193; at Panama-Pacific Exposition, 222 n.; pawnshops, 231; post-offices, 213; quinine, 260; representative government, 164 ff, 175; subdivisions, 166, 169; tea, 265; title to, 144; transportation, 211; vaccine, 233
Internaat, 174
Iron ore, 20
Irrigation, 189, 235 ff.
Islam, 53
I-Tsing, 53, 54 n.

Japan, 252
Japanese, 222

Java, xiv, 15, 41, 43; advanced, 85; cable lines, 214; coffee, 127; colonized by Dutch, 118; coolies, 201; courts, 175; fauna and flora, 25–27; fertile, 19; fisheries, 238; history, 46; irrigation, 236; oil, 267; opium, 193; people, 57; police, 227; population, 16, 35, 89, 137, 208; possibilities, 100; post-offices, 213; quinine, 257; religion, 87; roads, 152, 219; rubber, 271; salt monopoly, 190; schools, 180; slavery, 78, 156, in State of Madjapahit, 49; sugar companies, 82, 248; Sultanate of Bantam in, 100; tea, 265; volcanoes, 17; War, 154; wealth of, 155
Javanese, 35, 86, 187, 198, 199, 207, 210
Javanese-Hindu, 58, 121
Jonquiere, P. W., 170
Judson, Harry Pratt, vii

Kabayas, 282
Kalapa, 261 n.
"Kaling," 46
Kalinga, 45
Kampong, 35, 216 n., 289
Kapok, 19, 246, 247, 282
Karons, 34
Karta, 101, 108
Kartanagara, 48
Kartasura, 110, 116–17, 150
Kavi, Basa, 41
Kawah Kamodjan, 18, 283 n.
Kawi, 33, 41
Kawi Studies, 41
Kedu, 46
Ken Arak, 48
Kern, H., 41, 51
Kertaradjasa, 49
Keyser, Pieter Dirckzoon, 70
Kina, 257
Klut, The, 18
Kock, General de, 154
Koran, 177
Kota Nopan, 216
Krakatau, 18
Kraton, 171
Krom, Dr. N. J. K., 51
Kruyff, E. de, 222 n.
Kudus, 55
Kutei, Sultanate of, 52

Lahar, 18
Lamoeri, 55
Lampong district, 100, 119
Land, ownership of, 249
Landgerecht, 176
Landraad, 120, 176, 177
Language, 195 ff. *See* Java, Celebes, *etc.*
Law Merchant, 117, 178
Ledger, George, 258
Lesser Sunda Islands, 15
Leyden, University of, 166, 257
Liberals, 292
Linschoten, Jan Huizen, 68, 69
Lisbon, 63, 69
Lombok, 15, 33, 45, 58, 87; volcanoes in, 17
London, 265, 267
Loudon, James, 159
Loudon, Jonkheer Dr. John, 159 n.

Ma Hoean, 54
Mace, 55
Madjapahit, 49, 58, 90
Madura, 16, 109, 201; opium in, 193; Prince of, 116; salt monopoly, 190; schools, 180
Madurese, 35, 86

Magellan, 62
Makassar, 33; harbor of, 221; Sultan of, 89, 106; Sultanate of, 51 n.
"Malabar," 263
Malacca, 15, 27, 33, 45, 49
Malay Archipelago, 15, 16, 41
Malay (language), 86, 179, 199
Malays, 31–34, 52, 96 n., 141, 142
Malaysia, 7
Mango, 27
Mangosteen, 27
Mangrove, 19
Marco Polo, 41, 54
Mas Said, 119
Mataram, State of, 46, 48, 90, 152; alliance with Makassar, 106; King of, 89, 101, 102, 109; Soesoehoenan of, 111
Mecca, 90
Medan, 19, 173, 204, 214, 216, 272
Mees, W. Fruin, 51
Menado, 138, 139, 214
Menangkabau, 54, 93, 142
Merapi, 48
Merbabu, 48
Middleburg, 62, 81
Minahassa, 138, 219
Mining, 189, 224 ff
Minto, Lord, 124
Mocha, 127
Mohammedanism, 7, 49, 88
Mohammedans, 33, 34, 36, 47, 58, 87, 122, 154
Molucca Islands (Spice Islands), 16, 46, 55, 56, 57, 132 n., 143
Money, J. W. B., 137, 155
Monopoly of trade, 101, 106, 110
Monsoons, 23
Near East, 6, 7
Negora, Depo, 154
Netherlands: colonial policy, 134, 136; embargo on trade, 65; East Indian government, 140, 196, 205, 211 n., 222 f., 225, 258; under Philip II, 63; possession of Insulinde, 147; power in Colonies, 122; psychology, 12; Republic of the Seven United, 63, 79, 148; Steamship Company, 222; title to Insulinde, 131; war with Spain, 63, 99
Netherlands East Indian Colonies, 12, 15, 33, 36, 41, 50, 96, 137, 188, 192, 211 n., 213, 215, 228, 275
Netherlands East Indian Company, 75, 79, 97, 98, 103, 109, 122, 150, 245; charter, 80–82; monopoly of trade, 101, 106, 110; penal code, 228; shares, 81
Netherlands Navigation Company, xiii
New Guinea, 15, 16; area, 17; not fertile, 19; fauna and flora, 27, 28; farmers, 36; savages of, 142
New Netherlands, vii
New Zealand, Dominion of, 8, 9, 17
Nias, Island of, 142
Nickel, 20
Nutmeg, 55

Obdeijn, V., 255
Obi, 55
Oil, 270. *See* Java and Sumatra
Oil-fields, 20
Oldebarneveldt, 72, 75
Ombilin, 20
Ongole, 237
Oolong tea, 265
"Oost-Indisch Archipel," 16

Opium, state monopoly of, 189; trade, 191 ff.
Orang blanda, 96
Orang-outang, 27

Pacific Ocean, 7, 16, 18
Padang, 215, 221, 265
Palembang, 20, 36, 44, 54, 89, 151, 235 n.
Palms, 25; oil, 246
Pangéran Ratu, 150
Papuans, 31, 32, 36
Parve, Stein, 156 n.
Pasars, 218, 284, 285
Pasei-Samunden, 55
Passagrahans, 216
Pasuruan, 211
Patih, 168
Pawnshops, 231 ff.
Pekalongan, 49
Pekoe tea, 265
Pematang Sir Antar, 173, 216, 217, 265
Penal Code, 228
Penal sanction, 189, 200 ff., 210
Penang, 214
Pepper trade, 100, 111, 119
Perfumes, 61
Peru, 257
Petroleum, 262, 266 f. *See* Oil
Philippine Islands, 15, 181, 248; volcanoes in, 17
Pisang, 26
Pithecanthropus erectus, 31
Plancius, Reverend, 68, 70
Pol, Hulshoff, 164
Police system, 189, 226 ff.
Pompolomoes, 27
Pontianak, 214
Portugal, 61
Portuguese, 51, 52, 56, 62, 64, 89; colonies, 63, 69, 71; discoverers, 100; missionaries, 121; in Moluccas, 143
Postal service, 189, 213 ff.
Preanger Regencies, 44, 108, 118, 169, 237, 246, 259, 263, 282
Priest-Prince, 49
Prison system, 189, 227 ff.
Pulu Laut, 20, 224
Putte, Fransen van de, 158

Quinine, 256 ff.

Raffles, Sir Stamford, 41, 47, 119 n., 124, 151, 154, 159, 274
Railways, 189, 211 ff.
Rainfall, 23
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 76
Rangawoeni, 48
Rice, 19
Roads, 189, 215 ff.
Rochussen, Governor General, 158
Roelofson, P. A., 226
Roffaer, G. P., 51
Roosevelt, Theodore, 5
Rotterdam, 62, 81; Quay, 221
Royal Dutch Petroleum Company, 266
Royal Dutch Shell group, 300
Rubber, 204, 208, 246, 262, 271 ff.
Ryp, Captain de, 69
Rysens, F. van, 71 n.

Sabang, 221
Saigon, 214
Salatiga, 240 n.
Salt monopoly, 189 ff.
Samarang, 36, 110, 120, 211 f., 221, 227, 234, 252, 267; Sultan of, 101,

Sambaleung, Sultanate of, 52
San Joao, Fort, 56
San Lucas, closed, 68
Sandalwood stallions, 237
San Francisco, 214
Sanskrit literature, 42
Santa Maria, closed, 68
Sarong, 282
Sasaks, 58
Sawah Loentoh, 224
Sawahs, 19, 94, 251, 258, 281, 284
Schools, 179–81
Scidmore, E. R., 119
Selor Islands, 15
Shanghai, 214
Shell Company, Royal Dutch, 266
Shinto, 43
Sibolga, 216
Silks, 61
Silver, 224
Singapore, 57, 151 n., 214
Singkep, 20
"Sjamaan," 43
Sloot, Captain, 106
Soaps, 61
Society: Insulinde, 286; Sarakat Islam, 286, 303
Soenan Mas, 110
Soerapati, 109–10
Soesoehoenan: Amangcoerat, 109, 110; Ingalaga, 105, 106, 108; Pakoe Boewana, of Java, 110
Souchong, 265
South African States, Federated, 8, 9, 198 n., 211 n.
Spain, 61, 63
Speelman, Governor General, 107
Speelwyk, Fort, 109
Speyer, Dr. J. S., 51
"Spice Islands," 15, 62. *See* Molucca Islands
Spice trade, 53, 61, 63, 97 f., 153
States General, 72, 80, 82, 84, 100, 163, 166
Steamship lines, 222
Stirum, J. P. Count van Limburg, 172
Straits Settlements, 213
Struben, J. J., 255
Stuart, Cohen, 42
Sugar, 19, 246; companies, 82, 270; industry, 111, 120, 139, 157, 247 ff.
Sula, 55
Sumatra, 16, 17, 19, 20, 127; civilization, 44; colonization, 210; coolies shipped to, 203, 207; courts, 175; in 1872, 159; estates, 246; gold, 20; harbors, 222; history, 53; motoring, 151; oil, 267; population, 208; races, 35; roads, 219; rubber, 271; salt monopoly, 190; Sultanate of Bantam, 100; trade routes by, 45; worst natives, 142.
Sumba, 15, 58
Sumbawa, 15, 58, 109; races and languages of, 33; volcanoes, 17
Sunda Islands: Greater, 15, 27; Small, 58
Sundanese, 35, 86, 199, 282
Surabaya, iii, 36, 55, 120, 211, 220, 234, 267; King of, 101
Surakarta, 42, 46, 117, 119, 152, 221, 254; Sultan of, 171

Tabur, Sultanate of, 52
Tak, Major, 108
Tamarind, 27
Tandjong, 224
Tandjong-Priok, 220, 221
Tantiemes, 82

Tapioca, 261
Tapir, 27
Taroema, 46
Taruntung, 216
Tasik Malaja, 238
Tea, 246, 247, 261 ff.
Teak, 18, 19, 239; *see* Djati
Tegal, 55
Telegraph, 189, 213, ff
Telephone, 189, 213 ff.
Ternate, 55; Sultan of, 56, 57, 89
Thousand Temples, 44
Tideman, J., 173
Tidore, 55; Sultan of, 56, 57
Tiger, 27
Timber, 241
Timor, 15, 58, 219
Tin, 20, 36, 195, 224, 261
Tjahraningrat, Prince of Madura, 116
Tjandi, 240 n.
Tjandi Sewoe (Thousand Temples), 44
Tjepu, 240 n., 267
Tjilatjap, 220
Tjipanas, 16, 118, 284
Toba Lake, 173, 216
Tobacco, 19, 208, 246, 254, 270, 300
Toemapel, 48
Tohdjaja, 48
Tokos, 96
Torchiana, H. A. van Coenen, 178
Towerson, Gabriel, 150
Trade, foreign, 189, 222 ff.
Troeno Djojo, 106
Tuban, 55.
Turkish, 86

United States, 24, 136, 187, 198, 203 ff., 209, 211 n., 222, 223, 226, 234, 248, 260, 293, 295, 304 n.
United States Rubber Company, 204
University of Leyden, 167, 257

Vaccinium, 25
Valkinier, Governor General, 115, 117
Van der Lith, 44
Van Imhoff, Governor General, 115, 117, 118, 126
Van Neck, 71
Van Speyk, 148
Venice, 61
Vere, 62
Verre, Maatschappy van, 71 n.
Veterinary service, civil, 189, 236 ff.
Veth, Dr. Jan, 51, 119 n.
Vienna, Treaty of, 124, 147
Volcanoes, 17
Volksraad, 165, 263
Vreeland, Hamilton, 76
Walcott, Arthur S., 57, 141
Wallace, Alfred Russell, 17, 26, 27, 31, 137, 155
Waringen trees, 282
Warongs, 96, 114
Water power, 189, 224
Wayungs, 42
Wedana, 166, 168, 177, 199, 227, 282
Weltevreden, 125, 233, 281
Westminster, Treaty of, 102
Wetar, 15
Wilde, de, 110
William the Silent, vii, 63, 149

Yap, 214

Zutphen, 153

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

SEP 24 1945
DEC 18 RECD
LD-URL DEC 22 1967
RENEWAL JAN 10 1968
QL MAR 2 1968
RECD LD-URL
FEB 14 1968
REC'D LD-URL
LD URL FEB 15 1971
FEB 5 1971

Form L-9
20m-1,'41(1122)

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT
LOS ANGELES

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
A 000 579 666 9